

AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS
OF
WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.

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MEMOIRS OF

WALTER HARRISON

OF THE

A NEW EDITION,

CORRECTED AND ENLARGED.

AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS
OF
WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.
LATE
GOVERNOR GENERAL OF BENGAL,
WITH
STRICTURES
ON THE
MANAGEMENT OF HIS IMPEACHMENT:

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
AN EXAMINATION
INTO THE CAUSES OF
ALARM IN THE EMPIRE

By *ANTHONY PASQUIN, Esq.*

AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM.

LONDON:

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M.DCC.XCIII.

THE
MANUFACTURE
OF
COTTON
AND
WOOLLEN
TEXTILES
IN
THE
UNITED
KINGDOM
FROM
1800
TO
1850
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1850



AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS

OF

WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.

— “ Your virtues, gentle Master,
 “ Are sanctified and holy traitors to you ;
 “ Oh! what a world is this, when what is comely
 “ Envenoms him that wears it!”

SHAKSPEARE.

TO *bear* and *forbear* is the great principle upon which our felicity, as connected members of a vast system, very eminently depends; it is an institute in every religion, which has been promulgated to amend mankind, from one extreme of the universe to the other; and they approach nearest to the Deity, in his sublime attributes, who can pardon the evil offices of the malicious, and listen to their contumelies with pity. Such remarks cannot be too powerfully or too frequently enforced, especially in these times, when men openly confederate for the illiberal purposes of particular annoyance, and even forego their accustomed habits of candour and generosity, to assimilate with an oppressive phalanx, whose desires are base and disreputable!—Could we venture into the *Pandemonium*, where they commune and assemble, we should privately hear those measures denominated

as *politic*, which, in their public phraseology, they call *expedient*!—And though to be politic in the present depraved epoch, seems to supersede all ideas of being moral, yet I will affirm, though not prophetically gifted like Elijah, that all the indirect meandrings of policy, which are not warranted by integrity, must terminate in remorse and ruin. How far these observations apply to the present extraordinary and lamented situation of Mr. HASTINGS, and his outrageous pursuers, I shall leave with confidence to the national judgment.

Mr. HASTINGS was born at the village of Churchill, in Oxfordshire, in the year 1732; his father was the clergyman of that parish. His grandfather, Mr. PENNYSTON HASTINGS, lived at Daylesford, on the borders of Worcestershire, and sold that place, which had been possessed by the family of Mr. HASTINGS from 1280 to 1715; this was the last of very considerable estates which they had held in Worcestershire and Gloucestershire. The family is mentioned by Dr. NASH, in his *Antiquities of Worcestershire*, as one of the most ancient in the county, and as deriving their descent from an elder branch of the Noble Family of HUNTINGDON.

Mr. HASTINGS was educated at Westminster School, and went out a Writer to Bengal in the year 1749, when the English appeared in India in the character of mere Merchants. In an early period of his life, he was much noticed for his knowledge of the Persian language (at that time a very uncommon acquisition); and throughout his long administration in the East, he was a liberal encourager of learning, and the polite arts.

After

After filling all the highest offices in Bengal, that of Governor excepted, and enjoying the universal esteem of the natives of that country, he returned to England in the year 1765, with a very moderate fortune, and with an intention of spending the remainder of his life in England, in learned ease and pacific retirement.—But he had so far miscalculated the amount of his fortune, though neither a gamester nor a man of expence in any shape, that in two years he found it necessary to return to Bengal; he applied for permission, but his application was rejected by the Court of Directors—parties at that time running very high, and his friends being in a minority.

It was at this period, that he formed an intimacy with the late celebrated Doctor JOHNSON, by whose advice he proposed a scheme for establishing a Professorship at the University of Oxford, for the study of the Persian language. Fortunately for his native country, this scheme was rendered abortive, by the following circumstance:—A Parliamentary Enquiry was instituted to examine the state of the Company's Affairs, in 1767, in consequence of the acquisition of Bengal by Lord CLIVE. Mr. HASTINGS, in this enquiry, underwent an examination of several hours, at the bar of the House of Commons; an incident well recollected by every Gentleman who was at that period a Member of the third Legislative Estate. The evidence which he gave, was in all its parts so clear, comprehensive, and satisfactory, and displayed a knowledge so perfect of the affairs of India, that it immediately brought him into general notice. I introduce the circumstance merely to shew how forcibly politics can

warp the most moderate men. After the examination, Lord JOHN CAVENDISH and Mr. FREDERIC MONTAGUE, who had paid close attention to his evidence, and whom he did not then know, desired him to dine with them at a neighbouring Coffee-house; an event which Mr. HASTINGS, as I have been informed, has pointedly mentioned, when Mr. FREDERIC MONTAGUE has been noticed as one of the Managers, and the whole House of CAVENDISH as his combined persecutors.

In the next year, 1768, Mr. HASTINGS was appointed second in Council at Madras, and in 1771 he was removed to Bengal, and ordered to succeed to the Government in the next year—he was officially invested in that high office in April 1772, and remained at the head of the Government, under various Parliamentary appointments, for thirteen years. The important services which he rendered his Country in Bengal are now universally known and acknowledged. If the fame of an individual can be fixed by the most unerring and indisputable evidence, Mr. HASTINGS may smile at the *Herculean* combinations which have been formed by the envious and the interested, to destroy his reputation. In India, I can venture to affirm with honest confidence, that his memory is held by the Natives in the highest veneration: which is assuredly, the best imaginable test of the incorruptibility of his mind and the clemency of his heart.

In a Government of thirteen years, Mr. HASTINGS must have created some enemies, from the inability to satisfy all, even when the meritorious were claimants upon power: But to the honour of the British character in India, be it recorded,

corded, that such is the horror which his unmerited treatment has excited, that those who thought themselves neglected or ill treated during his Administration, have had their occasional resentments absorbed and buried in the contemplation of his peculiar troubles: and it is not too much to aver, that, amongst his countrymen in India now, from the source of the Ganges to the sea, he has not one foe!

The KING's Ministers have adopted *all* his plans, and annually boast of those immense resources, which he is now prosecuted as a criminal for having procured for the sustenance and glory of the British Empire!—The History of his *Impeachment* will be most eventful, terrific, and admonitory—it will be a History of the baseness of Human Nature, engaged in a warfare of dark and crooked policy. This is not a place, nor is it the time that expedience would select to depict its wily progress minutely, In obedience to this conviction I shall suppress my indignation as much as my feelings will admit, and content myself, at present, with exhibiting to the public eye a few general remarks and relative ideas.

It is impossible however not to say a few words, upon a principal feature in the impeachment of Mr. HASTINGS.

All Europe has exclaimed at different periods against the injustice done to *Sir Walter Raleigh*, who after receiving sentence of death, was taken from the Tower, and appointed by *James the First*, to command a Fleet, in a voyage of Discovery; in the eye of Reason and Justice, this appointment operated as a virtual pardon for former offences, and *Sir Walter* therefore neglected to apply for it
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in form.—He failed on the expedition and was accused by *Gondamar* of violating the peace between England and Spain, and was executed by the order of *James*, upon the force of the enormity implied in *his former Sentence*!—This execution perpetrated so many years after his sentence had been pronounced, is recorded by all our Historians, as as a cruel and unqualified murder, disgraceful to the contemptible Monarch, in whose reign it occurred, and the more especially, as he had been publickly employed subsequent to the fatal judgment!

Mr. Fox has loudly, justly, and pathetically reprobated, the accusation which was preferred against the French King.—The National Convention charged him with crimes alledged to have been committed *prior* to September 1791, when he accepted the Constitution, as then framed by the governing legislators.

Let the *sober and reflecting part of mankind*, who form the ultimate tribunal on earth for wounded minds, consider the analogy between these two instances, and the case of Mr. HASTINGS—their good opinion is the last retreat of human pride, with the just and the meritorious.

In 1773, Mr. HASTINGS had the distinguished honour of being appointed by the Legislature of Great Britain, Governor General of Bengal.

In 1776, the Minister, to whose influence he owed his appointment, wished to remove him from his office, and he was actually removed by Thirteen Directors, a bare Majority of the Court.—Before this removal could be carried into effect, a very large body of independent Proprietors, including amongst them, the whole *Rockingham* Party, interfered

terfered with success, and their recommendation to the Directors, to rescind their Vote equally preserved Mr. HASTINGS in his office, and India to Great Breat Britain !

The ostensible ground stated for the removal, was that he had engaged the Company in an unjust and impolitic war with the *Rohillas* ;—that he had received presents corruptly, and that he had mismanaged the public Revenues of Bengal. —

In the year 1778, the Commission by which Mr. HASTINGS held his situation *expired*.—The Minister, LORD NORTH, though he had used his utmost influence to remove him in 1776, was *himself* the man who proposed to Parliament, to reappoint him Governor General for another year in 1779, and for *Ten Years longer*, in 1781.—His Lordship made these propositions, as he declared himself, in 1786, because the Nation was involved in extensive wars when they were severally made,—because those were times of great difficulty, danger, and distress ! and because Mr. HASTINGS possessed vigour, and abilities proportioned to the exigence ; he had great resources, and enjoyed and deserved the unlimited confidence of the East India Company.

Upon Mr. Fox's principles, these several Re-appointments by the Legislature effectually stamped his former conduct with approbation,—Mr. PITT did not conceal his opinion, he declared that Mr. HASTINGS could not *with any colour of Justice*, be questioned for any acts done by him, *prior to his several Parliamentary Re-appointments, such re-appointments* carrying in the face of them, *the strongest Marks of Parliamentary approbation*, unless some Discoveries had been made which were not known previous to each *delegation*.—

Though no such Discoveries were pretended to have

have been made by the interested inquisitors,—though the acts done by Mr. HASTINGS, had for many years been of the most public notoriety, yet the Commons voted twenty articles, to be criminal, many of which were done *prior to his* first Parliamentary appointment, which is more than twenty years ago, and almost *the whole* preceding one, or more of his Re-appointments!——

Whether the present Rulers of France resorted to the Case of *Sir Walter Raleigh*; or whether they considered the more novel, and apposite precedent of this Impeachment, I cannot say—but in this, as in their most emphatic speeches they have copied Mr. BURKE with wonderful closeness—with *appropriate tenderness*.

Mr. BURKE *once* said, “That Providence had “hurled the King from his Throne,” and one *St.* “*Juste* lately averred in the National Convention, that Louis was hurled from his Throne.”

Mr. BURKE declared, when speaking of the Impeachment, “*Infamy must necessarily rest somewhere*,” (there is no doubt but he *feels* the force of this declaration.)

A Member of the Convention said, “*If Louis is innocent the Nation is guilty*,”—after such vague and irreconcilable testimonies, I must exclaim with *Macbeth*,

“That nothing is, but what is not!”

Ah my God, shall the refinement of Society, be only conducive to the refinement of villany?—The most vile Castilian in the *Cortes* of his nation, knew not such agonizing sensations, as some of our Senators know!—

While loss, misfortune, defeat, and disgrace, attended this Nation through many stages of
the

the late war in America and the West-Indies, our dominion in the East was disputed by a host of foes—the success of our arms there, at that important crisis, is well known:—an advantageous peace, secured us in the safe possession of every thing in that Country, and actually with improved and improving resources.—Who can affix gratitude as a resident in the mind of false ambition?—Who can restrain the operations of Pride, Avarice, Hate, or Uncharitableness?—None! Then we may lament, but ought not to be astonished, that it was the hapless fate of Mr. HASTINGS to be sacrificed at home to the inexplicable sophistry of contending factions!—It was the the fashion of that day to violate truth and common sense, whenever the state of India became the subject for discussion! It was boldly affirmed by Committees, and in preconcerted speeches, that Bengal was depopulated, ruined, impoverished, and destroyed. Mr. HASTINGS was described as the author of all this misery, and upon this sandy foundation stood the celebrated Bill of Mr. Fox.—All the friends of Mr. HASTINGS united with Mr. PITT in opposition to the alarming and heterogeneous proposition, and thus Mr. HASTINGS, without his knowledge or participation, was one great cause of a change in the Administration; thereby exciting the utmost vengeance of the defeated and desperate Party, but acquiring no friends among those who succeeded, as they became suddenly too haughty and ungenerous, even to acknowledge that assistance which they had previously *solicited*.

On his return from his Government in 1785, he most woefully experienced the influence of those depravities which occasionally debase mankind, when their passions and their judgment will not coalesce

coalesce !—He was attacked, impeached, and has gone through the most singular, intricate, and mortifying Trial, that the page of History can offer to Contemplation.

When I consider the imperfections of our nature, I am more sensibly touched by regret, that this or any similar prosecution should be continued so long :—when the credulous part of society (and Credulity has an extensive dominion), are for a period of six years doomed to listen to a string of charges, each involving supreme guilt, exhibited against a veteran, grey in the service of his country, some portion of the obloquy will attach itself to the common conception of the unsuspecting many !—and I have no doubt but Mr. BURKE himself, the sapient, the indefatigable Lord Paramount of the inquisitorial band, finds it difficult to obliterate from his memory, every trace of these high-coloured enormities ascribed to Mr. HASTINGS, which were sketched, but never finished, in the synod of his deserted, comfortless, woe-begone party :—the vulgar have an adage, signifying, that where much dirt is thrown, some will adhere ; and as the maxims of the vulgar are generally the coarse fruit of Experience, it is incumbent on the liberality and the justice of the Legislature, to reflect on the consequence of such extraneous prejudices, and adopt measures, tending to a reduction, if not removal, of so affecting an evil.

Events had occurred in the course of the trial of Mr. HASTINGS, which are intimately connected with his history, and which have placed his character beyond the reach of incessant malevolence, or studious misrepresentation.

When this lamented siege of the peace of an individual

individual began, the parties into which the House of Commons was divided, bore towards each other the most fixed and deadly hate—It was a warfare of antipathies—a contest for precedence in illiberality. The opposition *now* broken, dispirited, and defeated, was *then* an *united, active,* and *powerful* body, differing from the King's Ministers upon *principle*, and as their leaders have often avowed, differing *fundamentally*, and *irreconcilably*.

The party met at the DUKE of PORTLAND's, *one of the Judges on the trial*, early in 1786, and it was then *determined* to support MR. BURKE in his proposed impeachment.—Heaven, in its dispensations of justice, has since made MR. BURKE the instrument for scattering to atoms that numerous and redoubted phalanx—Like the fabled castles in romance, touched by the necromantic rod, it is now vanished,

“ And melted into air.”

In no quarter of the globe was the prosecution of MR. HASTINGS a popular or approved measure, and in no after-age will it be quoted without abhorrence.—The Minister had unequivocally given to him, the envied credit of preserving India to Great Britain, when she was assailed by a host of foes!—The directors and the proprietors had returned him their unanimous thanks for his long, faithful, and efficient services; and it was a fact of universal notoriety, that no Englishman had at any period been so generally beloved throughout Hindostan, as MR. HASTINGS was, even after the loss of his power, and when menaced with a public prosecution in perspective.

Circumstances

Circumstances have taken place in the progress of this trial, which rendered it more generally condemned than it was at its commencement—Every stage produced some latent hideousness, and that hideousness produced national disgust!—as the various and contradictory designs of the prevailing chiefs in the legislative inquest became developed, the people became dissatisfied:—while Mr. BURKE furiously rushed into an unfathomable and unascertained ocean, to grope for a North-east passage to the point of his desire; the wily *scavenger* of the state was securely doubling the Cape under the colours of a common enemy!—but, like many aquatic adventurers, the navigation will be as ruinous to their employers as themselves!—the rashness of the former has consigned both the *bark* and the *crew* to destruction; and the circumfluent movements of the other, will be ignominious and unprofitable!

The first year was distinguished by that wonderful difference between the speeches of the managers, and the King's Ministers, as to the past, and actual state of India!—by the former it was declared to be irretrievably ruined; by the latter the British possessions were affirmed to be the most flourishing in Indostan!—

Before the second year of the trial had commenced, his Majesty's indisposition drew from Mr. Fox, Mr. BURKE, and Lord LOUGHBOROUGH (the three great leaders of the opposition), certain opinions as to the right of the PRINCE OF WALES*, which,

* What food for meditation is given to the moralist and patriot, by the unexpected and extraordinary secession of this august personage from his party?—a party who had stood by him, with the most *unqualified* firmness in all weathers: who never

which, from their novelty and momentous tendency, made them very unpopular throughout Great Britain.—The conduct of the trial being in the hands of such an all-grasping, daring, and abhorred party, it became in the public eye, even a more odious proceeding than before.

In the next year, 1790, Mr. BURKE, whose outrageous opposition to the Regency-bill had created the most marked *disgust* in every province of the realm, took that *fort of twist*, which insured him the cordial *approbation* of all who are attached either to the monarchy or the church.—Posterity will hesitate to admit so extraordinary, so violent a change—They will not believe such foul tergiversation to have been in any man pretending to the exercise of common honesty!—That the individual who publicly insulted *all sovereigns* so grossly as to affirm “That Kings were naturally lovers of “*low company*”—who treated the nobility with so much disrespect, as to declare “That many of

never abandoned their post even at the command of Virtue!—The fallen remnants of this dismembered monster, have become pious in trouble, and quote holy writ!—Put not your trust in princes, is echoed by the mourners through the land!—If they ever deserved well of him at all, they do not merit ill of him now; his accustomed asseveration, that he would sooner eat toads than coalesce, or even converse with Mr. P——, led them to imagine he was serious in a point, in which the greatest have proved irresolute!—Common Rumour has insinuated that he has actually received an immense compensation from his Majesty, for this sudden sacrifice of habitual amity: but to suppose for a moment that he would *descend* so far, as to barter the long-established prejudices of his heart, for a mess of pottage, is to suppose what I hope is totally impossible. Yet after all (as Mr. Fox very pointedly observed in a recent debate in the House of Commons) “The policy of Princes is incomprehensible, and “consequently above all challenge.”

“them

“ them were perfectly ready and willing to act
 “ the part of pimps, parasites, tale-bearers, and
 “ buffoons”—who entertained so bad an opinion
 of the King’s Ministers, as to affirm, “ That the
 “ consolidated corruption of ages, that all the acts
 “ and monuments in the heroic times of Roman
 “ iniquity, did not equal the gigantic corruption
 “ of one single act done by them.”—It will not,
 I repeat, be believed that a man professing such sentiments, should be the slaving, crouching, pitiful panegyrist of those Kings, those nobility, and those ministers?—Alas, this change has so far had an effect, that Mr. BURKE has managed every thing as he pleased, from the time this apostacy of opinion took place.—In one instance only has the Minister thwarted his views, by appointing Sir JOHN SHORE to the government of Bengal:—of that appointment Mr. BURKE has loudly and publicly complained, because, as he says, Sir JOHN is implicated in the charges preferred against Mr. HASTINGS by the Commons of Great Britain; but I rather think he has complained, because that gentleman’s evidence totally destroys the most important of the accusations, and because he pointedly and emphatically swore, that the character of Mr. HASTINGS was highly respected in India, and proverbial for probity, moderation, and wisdom.

The trial continued the three following years, and while I am writing, the *sixth year* of it is about to commence, and will exhibit a most singular, awful, and uncommon spectacle—a man accused of being the scourge of no inconsiderable portion of the human race, has the inexpressible happiness of seeing that numerous people united
 in

in his support, and supplicating Heaven in his behalf!—a man accused of diminishing the resources of India, who has the undescribable satisfaction to hear the Minister taking credit every year, for the increase of those particular resources—a man accused of having reduced fertile provinces to uncultivated deserts, has lived to see the Minister select for the government of Bengal, that gentleman, whose evidence has incontestably proved the assertion to be an ungenerous, a wicked, and a diabolic calumny!—The history of no age or country involves any event equal to this in injustice or absurdity.

It is not my design to enter further into the state of India; let me only refer such of my readers as desire to be more particularly informed, to the proceedings of the House of Commons, where Mr. DUNDAS, the India Minister, has annually pronounced the panegyrick of Mr. HASTINGS, by annually stating the progressive improvement of Bengal.

What a world is this, where the morality of the man is incompetent to his protection from insult and presumed dishonour?—where every miscreant can affix such a stain upon the most exalted reputation, as requires one of the allotted stages of life, to blanch or purify?—and where the hazard is great that he perishes before the conclusion?—I have the most serious reason to think, which, if highly necessary I could reduce to evidence, that several of this persecuted gentleman's most virulent opponents, do not, nor ever did believe, that an hundredth part of the charges and atrocities exhibited against him, were founded on the basis of Truth, although they have been urged with
such

such unabating fury, and supported by every subtle and wriggling effort of ratiocination!—their malign hope rested on the broad supposition, that all humanity being frail, Mr. HASTINGS, in common with the species, might peradventure be unwise, even when the judgment was satisfied with the origin of the deed!

In the course of this judicial proceeding, the English language has been tortured and exhausted, to produce terms of the most vulgar and abusive tendency, to harass and insult a manacled victim. Some of the following polished epithets, issued from the classic lip of the *gentle and consistent* EDMUND BURKE!—" *Captain-general of Iniquity—Robber—Plunderer—Murderer!*"—These, and other opprobrious and coarse phrases, have been applied to MR. HASTINGS, with all the vehemence of consuming malice, to the disgrace of Parliament, and the outrage of common decency. But India has not been silent, during the progress of this wonderful effort; natives and Europeans have eagerly united, as one man, to bear testimony to his virtues and urbanity; and the universal voice of society has loudly and pathetically rejected the monstrous and absurd declamation, which has, for so many years, vulgarized the echoes of Westminster Hall. Under all this accumulated obloquy, so admirable has been the magnanimity of Mr. HASTINGS, that twice, and twice only, in the tedious passing away of five years, has the habitual serenity of his mind been disturbed; when the feelings of the man so far triumphed over the firmness of the philosopher, as to force him to the commission of a venial error, and make him forget himself. The first instance occurred upon a
petulant

petulant and very unfounded observation by Mr. GREY ; and the second happened when Mr. ADAM accused him of intentionally putting a wrong date to a letter, which had in fact been kept back from the records by Sir JOHN MACPHERSON. Provoked beyond the endurance of even patience by such a charge, he called out loudly, " It was false ! " These natural effusions of insulted worthiness, were in the first year of this miserable trial. From that time, he has deported himself with such a portion of resignation and coolness, as would not have dishonoured Seneca.

Though such behaviour on the part of Mr. HASTINGS (*situated as he is*) was *wrong* as to effect, it was unquestionably *right* as to principle. I have observed with infinite concern, that the man who can make his disposition subservient to accommodating meanness, and curb the noble energies of his nature, in situations where a due sense of personal dignity urges him to be impetuous, will have a manifest advantage over him, in whose mind honour is a governing adherent !

As a member of society, Mr. HASTINGS is respected and beloved by all who have the envied pleasure of knowing him. He is learned, yet modest—poignant, yet not severe : the vast attainments of his mind have not made him arrogant, nor his long continuance in power, disdainful to humility. — These rare qualities are supported by the coolest intrepidity, as he is possessed of as much personal and political courage, as ever inhabited a human bosom.

He is perhaps the *only* instance in British history (Lord RODNEY excepted) of a man who has scorned to court a *party* ! — Not to mention the

events of former periods, let us contrast his conduct with that of our modern great men. The late illustrious admiral, Lord KEPPEL, openly, and without a blush, avowed himself to be a *party man*; and Gen. BURGOYNE, after the surrender of his army at *Saratoga*, threw himself (for purposes sufficiently obvious) into the arms of Mr. Fox and his friends. If powerful interests leagued to assail these great characters, they had the consolation of being powerfully supported.—But Mr. HASTINGS, having the most perfect reliance on the good sense and discernment of his countrymen, and knowing that his character in India, stands upon a foundation so ample and firm, that the most ingenious exertions of all the orators in Britain, cannot undermine or destroy it—has never attempted to conciliate a *party*!—The hour of his triumph cannot be said to be approaching; it has actually arrived. The good and the virtuous of all descriptions lament his impeachment, as a national ignominy; nor will there be found *one man* throughout this kingdom, hardy enough to avow, that any party, *as a party*, has acquired credit with the subjects of this dominion in particular, or the world in general, for its conduct towards Mr. HASTINGS; nor has the character of any individual who has opposed him, been exalted by that opposition in the public estimation.

Mr. HASTINGS enjoys a very uncommon portion of health, for a man so far advanced in life, and who has consumed so many years in the anxious toils of a supreme office, and situated in a region of the globe where the heat is nearly intolerable.

The verity of the patriarchal dogma, that *we are born to suffer much more than to enjoy*, was
never

never more completely illustrated than in the unmerited sufferings of this devoted gentleman: yet happily, for the maintenance of comfort, our minds are so organised, that their peace is not entirely dependent upon unqualified virulence, or local depression; as we all know, that, however subtle the windings of ratiocination may be wrought by refined art, and the interests of *right* and *wrong*, mingled and perverted by deliberate design, or fortuitous accident, that what is just will eventually prevail; that the frail texture of Calumny will be burst by Time, and the loathsome disciples of Sophistry be followed by posthumous execration.

How piteously must the DEITY look down upon the vicissitudes of our contracted being!—How much must be sorrow for our misconception of the duties of existence: seeing man, created for all the purposes of felicity, only eager to wound his neighbour, and abase himself—all hurrying to sacrifice at the fane of Resentment, and each inconsiderable animal labouring to wield the thunderbolt of destruction.

Could great men thunder,
As Jove himself does, Jove would ne'er be quiet;
For every pelting, petty officer, would use:
His heaven for thunder—nothing but thunder,
Merciful heaven!

Every resource of ingenuity has been exhausted by his enemies, to find a similitude between Mr. HASTINGS and C. VERRÉS, the *Prætor* of Sicily, though nothing in nature can be more dissimilar, than the characters of the two men. VERRÉS entered Sicily like a common curse, introducing tyranny, rapine, and assassination. Mr. HASTINGS entered India like a common benefit, introducing

nearly as many advantages to Indostan as the PROLEMIES had to Egypt.

The persecutors of Mr. HASTINGS attempt to apologize for their conduct, by declaring that he suffers no more than what the laws of the land will authorise. If this argument is true, some of our laws cannot be considered as some of our blessings. All laws enacted in all states, must have good sense for their basis, and a reciprocity of social good for their end; if they are found in the issue not to be thus modelled, the aggrieved will effectually complain, and the statute cannot be durable; as those enormities which are arranged by method, are of all others the more intolerable. Every man, according to the tenor of our Legislature, is presumed to be innocent, previous to his conviction. This resolution was wisely adopted by our ancestors, to oppose that overbearing tide of prejudice, which would otherwise come rushing down, even upon innocence, when charged with malefactions, either by ignorance or malice: the Peers of the Culprit would proceed to investigation, with minds tinged by horror, and half those well-timed subtleties which operate to develope facts, would be unheeded by the vast force of vindictive prepossession.—It is a material question which demands a solemn agitation, to know which are productive of the most mischievous effects, a judicial code, involving an over-strained rigour, or the unrestricted degrees of despotism, unqualified by example? In the latter instance, the victim would have the consolation of being improperly treated—in the first instance that consolation is denied. Neither the severity of the *Draconian* or *Japanese* laws reduced the number of offences

fences in the territories subject to their malign influence*. The

* *The following faithful extracts and collections from the printed minutes of the evidence given before the Lords, in the trial of Mr. Hastings, and from the journals of both houses of Parliament, as to former trials of impeachments, may gratify those who heard Colonel M'Leod's speech in favour of Mr. Hastings.*

FORMER IMPEACHMENTS.

			Finished in
Earl of Strafford, in the year	1640	- -	11 days.
Archbishop Laud,	1643	- -	19 do.
Viscount Stafford	1680	- -	7 do.
Dr. Sacheverell	1709-10	- -	10 do.
Earl of Wintown	1715	- -	3 do.
Earl of Macclesfield	1725	- -	10 do.
Lord Lovat	1746-7	- -	6 do.

66

The longest time, therefore, during which the lords have sat upon any impeachment, previous to that of Mr. Hastings, appears to have been nineteen days, and the adjournments were for a very few days only, except in Laud's case, which happened during the civil war.

The impeachment of Mr. Hastings, how different.

Accusation—announced in the House of Commons, 16th June, 1785.

Impeachment—carried to the Lords, and bail put in, 21st May, 1787.

Trial—commenced 13th February 1788, and continued during the three following sessions of parliament, the Lords having sat sixty-nine days, thirty-one of which have been nearly occupied in speeches and debates, as appears by the following account :

1788.

15th	} February, Mr. Burke	=	=	4
16th				
18th				
19th				

The primary, though not magnanimous instrument, in this judicial enquiry, is Mr. EDMUND BURKE,

22d	Do.	Mr. Fox	-	-	-	1
25th	Do.	Mr. Grey	-	-	-	1
		Evidence about two hours.				
29th	Do.	Much mixed debate.				
10th	April,	Debate.				
11th	Do.	Mr. Anstruther and Mr. Burke, with a short examination of Messrs. Binn and Gardner				1
15th	Do.	Mr. Adam	-	-	-	1
16th	Do.	Mr. Pelham, followed by a short examination of a witness				1
3d	} June,	Mr. Sheridan	-	-	-	4
6th						
10th						
13th						

1789.

On the 9th of February, Mr. Hastings presented a petition to the Lords, stating his expences, up to that time, to amount to upwards of THIRTY THOUSAND POUNDS.

21st	} April,	} Mr. Burke	-	-	-	4
25th						
5th	} May,	}	-	-	-	
7th						
14th	Do.	Debate	-	-	-	1
20th	}	Do.	-	-	-	2
21st						
27th	Do.	Do. mixed	-	-	-	
10th	} June	Do.	-	-	-	2
11th						
24th	Do.	Do. producing an immediate adjournment	-	-	-	1
30th	Do.	Do.	-	-	-	1
	1790.					
16th	February, Mr. Anstruther					1
22d	} Do.	Debate	-	-	-	3
23d						
27th						

29th

(23rd)

BURKE, a man who will be quoted with wonder by unborn historians, as the type of contradiction.

The

29th	Do.	Do. mixed	
20th	May,	Do.	1
7th	} June,	Mr. Fox	2
9th			
Days occupied in debate			11
Days occupied in speeches of the managers			20
			11
Total			31

Decisions upon questions that arose during the above sixty-nine days.

AGAINST THE MANAGERS.

Session 1788. Seventh day of the trial } 2 in 1st year.
Twelfth day

1789. Forty-fourth day -
Forty-fifth day -
Forty-sixth day -
Forty-seventh day -
Forty-eighth day -
Forty-ninth day -
Fiftieth day - } 12 in 2d year.
Fifty-first day -
Fifty-second day -
Do. -
Fifty-third day -
Fifty-fifth day -

1790. Fifty-ninth day -
Sixty-first day -
Sixty-second day -
Sixty-third day -
Sixty-fifth day -
Sixty-seventh day - } 6 in 3d year.

The tergiverfation of his intellectual powers, is a
fatire upon all human refolutions: he appears to
think,

FOR THE MANAGERS.

1788. Tenth day -	1 in 1st year.
1789. Forty-feventh day -	2 in 2d year,
Forty-fourth day -	None in 3d year.

 3

Total againft the managers 20

Total for " " " 3

 17

Of the above 20 questions decided againft the managers,
10 were put to the judges; and of the three decided for the
managers, one was put to the judges.

Peers who have died fince Mr. Haftings was impeached.

Dukes of

Cumberland

Chandos

Manchester

St. Albans

Montague

Leeds

Somerfet,

Earls of

Huntingdon

Ferrers

Poulet

Clarendon

Pomfret

Hardwicke

Oxford

Sandwich

Orford

Abercorn

Cowper

Waldegrave

Kinnoul

Graham

Stanhope

Guilford

Effingham

Guilford

Darlington

Strafford.

Viscounts.

Montague

Bolingbroke

Courtenay

Dudley and Ward.

Bishops,

Shipley, of St. Afaph

Halifax, of St. Afaph

Thurlow, of Durham

Beauclerk, of Hereford

Harley, of Hereford

Law,

think, that the imbecilities of age give him a privilege to be recreant to the convictions of manhood!

Law, of Carlisle	Mulgrave
Moss, of Exeter	Harwood
Home, of Norwich	Grenville
Wilson, of Bristol.	Verulam
Barons.	Douglas
Le Despencer	Baron Gage
Say and Sele	Douglas, Lord Morton.
Grantley	New peers for Scotland.
Borrington	Kelly
Berwick	Lauderdale
Heathfield	Dumfries
Gage	Elgin
Craven	Glasgow
Rodney	Torpichen.
Dover	New bishops.
Mulgrave.	Carlisle
Scots peers not now in parliament.	Chester
Marquis of Lothian	St. Davids
Earl of Moreton	Gloucester
Earl of Cassels	Norwich
Earl of Galloway	Exeter
Earl of Hopetoun	Carlisle
Earl of Aberdeen	Bristol.
Earl of Selkirk	Totals—Dead, or not returned in this parliament } 59
Earl of Dunmore	Creations - - - 21
Lord Kinnaird.	New peers for Scotland - 6
Creations and Scotch peers.	Peers succeeding by descent, who have taken their seats } 14
Lords.	Total 100
Kenyon	
Dover	
Malmesbury	
Fife	

The charge states the substance and result of all the particular articles to be,

1st. That Mr. Hastings has acted to the great loss and damage of the revenues.

2dly.

hood!—Had this furious, implacable, but *pitiable* man, existed in the remoter ages, and foamed and bellowed

2dly. To the vexation, oppression, and destruction of the inhabitants of Bengal.

3dly. To the oppression of the princes in alliance with Great Britain.

As to the first point—It appears by the fifth report of the secret committee, that the total revenues and resources of the Bengal government, from April 1771 to April 1772, the year preceding Mr. Hastings's accession to the government, was three crore thirteen lacks, twenty-three thousand eight hundred ninety-five current rupees.

On the 26th May 1788 (and consequently subsequent to the commencement of the trial), the house of commons voted, that from 1782-3 to 1784-5, the annual revenues were upon an average of three years, five crore twenty-one lacks, eighty-eight thousand one hundred and fifty-six current rupees.

These were the three last years of Mr. Hastings's administration, and the increase compared with the three last years immediately preceding his government, appears to be about **TWO MILLIONS, ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS STERLING.**

As to the second point—On the 2d of June, 1790, John Shore, Esq. late member of the supreme council in Bengal, and a witness called by the managers, gave the following testimony: *viz. Property has been more secure, and individuals less oppressed, under the British government, than under the government of the nabobs. The natives are in general more happy. Since the year 1770, to the time I left India, the agriculture, population, and general prosperity of the country had increased. The period of which Mr. Shore speaks, involves the whole of Mr. Hastings's administration.*

Testimony in favour of the conduct and character of Mr. Hastings.

In 1773, he was appointed, by act of parliament, governor-general of Bengal, for five years.

1778, re-appointed for 1 year.

1779, - do. do. 1 year,

1781, - do. do. 10 years.

1782, The court of proprietors, by a majority of near six to one, returned Mr. Hastings their thanks for his services, and
in

belled forth his malediction, similar to his present mode, his irrational ferocity would have drawn an

in particular for his exertions during the war, in support of the Carnatic and Bombay.

1783. The court of proprietors again returned their thanks to Mr. Hastings for his services, and in particular for having effected a peace with the Mahrattas.

1784. The court of directors expressed, in the strongest terms, the sense of the services performed by Mr. Hastings, in furnishing supplies for the support of the war.

Ditto. The thanks of the proprietors were transmitted to Mr. Hastings, with the following resolution of the court of directors :

“ As peace and tranquillity are now perfectly established
“ throughout India, and this court being sensible that this
“ happy event has been principally owing to the very able and
“ spirited exertions of our governor-general and the supreme
“ council—

“ Resolved unanimously—That the thanks of this court be
“ conveyed to Warren Hastings, Esq. for his firm, unwearied,
“ and successful endeavours in procuring the late peace with
“ the several powers in India.”

Note. These dispatches must have had the sanction of the board of controul.

1785. They expressed their strong and unanimous sense of the long, faithful, and able services of Mr. Hastings.

Feb. 1, 1785. On the approach of Mr. Hastings's departure from India, an address was presented to him by the British inhabitants of Calcutta, professing the warmest admiration of his private and public conduct.

5th August, 1785. An address was transmitted to him in England, from the army, to the same effect.

In June, 1785, On his arrival in England, he was introduced to the court of directors, when the chairman, by order, and in the name of the court, returned him their *unanimous* thanks for the long, faithful, and able services, which he had rendered the East India company.

These FACTS also appear :

First. Though the accusation and trial were known from one end of India to the other, not a single complaint from any one

an exorcism from the church, to expel the *demon* from his troubled system. With the mental blackness

one individual has been transmitted against Mr. Hastings, or made to the supreme council there.

Secondly. From every part of India the strongest testimonials have been transmitted in his favour, viz.

Benares - - From the rajah of Benares and his relations, the natives of family and rank in the zemindary, cauzies, mustees, and men of learning residing in Benares.

From the pundits and bramins of Benares.

From the pilgrims and strangers from various parts of Indostan, residing in Benares.

From the merchants and bankers of Benares.

Moorshedabad. From the nabob of Bengal, Mobareck ul Dowla, his relations, and the principal officers of his court.

From the relations of the nabob Moboreck ul Dowla, and several of the natives of Rajemalie.

From the persons of family and rank, merchants, bankers, and natives of character residing in the city of Moorshedabad.

Oude - - From the nabob Vizier, inclosed in a letter to Earl Cornwallis.

From his ministers, Hossain Reza Cawn, and Hyder Beg Khan.

From the principal officers of rank in the nabob's court.

Furruckabad - From the nabob of Furruckabad, inclosed in a letter to Earl Cornwallis.

From the men of rank, mosti cazies, students, merchants, and bankers, residing in the city and district of Furruckabad.

Dinagopore - From the zemindar of Dinagopore, his kail, and the public officers of the zemindary.

Dacca - - From the nabob of Dacca, inclosed in a letter to Earl Cornwallis.

From the men of rank, and principal natives of the city of Jehanguirnagur.

Siberres - - From the zemindar of Siberres.

Nuddea

blackneis of a *wounded Monk*, he holds the errors of humanity as inexpressible—and, like another *Hannibal*,

- Nuddea - - From the rajah of Nuddea.
From the bramins and pundits.
From the zemindars, chowdries, and talookdars of the province of Nuddea.
- Boglepore - Three addressees from the zemindars, canonges, and principal inhabitants of the Sungletary, or a mountainous part of the district, first brought to a state of civilization in the government of Mr. Hastings.
- Patna - - From the men of rank and family, merchants, bankers, cauzies, and principal natives of the city of Patna.
- Silberres - From the zemindars, chowdries, and talookdars of Silberres.
- Burdwan - From the rajah of Burdwan, and zemindars of the 24 Purgunnahs.
From the pundits of the 24 Purgunnahs.
From the rajah of Jessore.
From the zemindars, chowdries, and talookdars of Mahommed Shah.
From the rajah of Cooch Beyhar, and his officers.
From the ranny of Rajeshahy, her adopted son, and the principal officers of the zemindary.
From the zemindars, chowdries, and talookdars of Midnapore.
From the zemindars and canongoes of Sylhet.
From the zemindars, talookdars, and chowdries of Rochunpore, Lushkerpore, and Jehanguirpore.
From the zemindars, talookdars, and chowdries of Zellah Moorshedabad.
From the zemindars, talookdars, and chowdries of Jellafore.
From the zemindars, chowdries, and talookdars of the district of Dacca.
From the zemindars, chowdries, and talookdars of the Zillah Momenfuig.

From

Hannibal, has sworn eternal enmity to an estimable and noble foe!—When a mind so fraught with

From the zemindar of Beerbhoom, and his principal officers.

From the principal residents and inhabitants of Houghly.

From the zemindar of Pachote, and his principal officers.

Calcutta

From the great and principal people, merchants, and others, inhabitants of the city of Calcutta.

From other inhabitants and merchants of Calcutta.

From other persons of rank, and of different sects and persuasions, of the city of Calcutta.

From the Greeks residing in Calcutta, and in other parts of Bengal.

From the zemindar of Tomlook rajah Anundernarain.

From the ranny Janenkee, zemindar of Mysaudel.

From ranny Sougundah, zemindar of Doodumnam.

From rajah Beeruarain, zemindar of Jellamootah.

From rajah Debindurnarain, zemindar of Soujahmootak.

The following testimonies have been given in the House of Lords, by gentlemen called as witnesses by the managers, fully confirming Col. McCleod's testimony.

Colonel Gardner. I believe there is not a more amiable private character in any country, than Mr. Hastings. Printed evidence, page 354.

Major Gilpin. During the time I resided in India, Mr. Hastings was considered as a man of very great abilities, and a man of humanity: his character was universally respected in India. I looked upon him as a very great man—as a man of integrity and humanity. Printed evidence, page 889.

David Anderson, Esq. Except by a very few men indeed, the adherents of former parties, who had been disappointed in their expectations, the character of Mr. Hastings was held in
very

with information, so polished, so lettered, so energetic as Mr. BURKE's, wants that benignity which should be unalterably correspondent with knowledge,

very high estimation: he was esteemed humane and disinterested: I never heard him spoken of, but in the highest terms, in the courts where I resided. Printed evidence, page 1234.

John Shore, Esq. I believe the natives in India entertained a very favourable opinion of Mr. Hastings: in this way the natives thought of him, after the charges against him had been sent out to India. I consider myself on a familiar footing with Mr. Hastings; but I hope I should not be so, if I thought him a corrupt, mercenary, or cruel man. Printed evidence, page 1285.

Mr. Markham, son of the archbishop of York, went through a very long cross-examination; the longest, perhaps, ever known or heard of, but each answer served to confirm the innocence of Mr. Hastings.

The close of his examination was singular and striking, and appeared to affect the court and the auditors, as much as it did Mr. Markham himself. He was asked if there was any part of Mr. Hastings's conduct to Cheyt Sing, that appeared to him as resulting from vindictive, malicious, or interested motives? He replied, that he had known Mr. Hastings for many years most intimately, and was convinced, that in no part of his public conduct was he biased by vindictive, malicious, or interested motives; that he was convinced he had ever made the public good, and the honour and advantage of his country his first object: on that of himself or his own interest, he never bestowed a thought, and with a voice scarcely audible (probably from the reflection that such a man should have been so treated by a combination of parties), laying his hand upon his heart at the time, he added, "*I am convinced, my Lords, he is the most virtuous man of the age in which he lives.*"

To these may be added, the honourable and unequivocal testimonies in his favour, from Colonel Popham, Captain Symes, &c. &c. It should be properly noted to posterity, that Captain Symes went out to India as aid-de-camp to General Musgrove, during the present war, since this momentous trial began, and after very active service, is now returned, to inform the subjects of this realm, that all ranks and degrees of people in India, continue to revere the name and memory of Mr. HASTINGS.

ledge, and without which knowledge cannot be esteemed, the Muses mourn at mortal defection, and *Philosophy* shrinks tremulous from the public eye, lest such examples might nurture an idea that her influence could not soften the adamant heart of *Revenge*!—Yet there are, who would not be amazed to find this *political Quixote*, in the approaching year, a more obsequious slave to Mr. HASTINGS than the *Persian Sophi* ever knew!—as the same ungovernable and unwarrantable spirit which inclined him to treat his Sovereign, in the hour of misery, like a mad savage, may impel him to his present violence—and his consequent humility to the BEST of KINGS (when his perils were past) may assimilate (when the toil becomes unprofitable) with his future penitence to the BEST of MEN.

The epoch at which this *most wonderful* trial commenced, was very unfavorable to Mr. HASTINGS, and consequently favorable to his enemies; if I were asked, how any point of time, could be inauspicious to the investigation of an innocent man's conduct, I would reply, that there are seasons, when, from a concurrence of extraordinary events, the tide of private knavery and public credulity run confluent and correspondent!—At periods, not very remote from the commencement of this inquisition, several defaulters had been brought to trial, and in some sort discomfited, whose improprieties had been enacted in the oriental world!—These occurrences paved the way, for a general reception of any prejudice, which persons less inventive and important than those alluded to might fabricate, for the temporary oppression of the best character, the letter of whose agency had not been entirely dissimilar to the

the individuals previously arraigned, though its spirit was as unlike as the opposition of night and day!—It is with me indubitable, that the promoters of this unprecedented examination, had never any dependence on their ability to establish the several charges they brought forward; to gain the countenance of the nation to such a measure, it was necessary, that they should make the outline of a horrid image; and leave it to the playfulness of imagination, to fill up the broad and demi-tints!—They all rushed forward and made their assertions boldly, but the proof of these assertions they seem calmly to have resigned to the arbitration of the next century!

Can I believe that had Mr. *Burke* become a painter instead of a politician (and all who know him will readily admit, that he does not want invention) he would have studied only in the school of *Michael Angelo*, and when called upon to design the final agonies of his Redeemer, that he would have imitated the great principal, and have nailed a victim to a cross, that he might have delineated precisely the writhings of premature death, and gratify his ambition to be notorious, by an outrage on humanity?—No, I will not receive the supposition that he possesses any such infernal impulse, imperfect and violent as he may seem, his disposition is too sympathetic and tender; he would rather generously extinguish his foe, than keep him for years in a state of protracted grief!—Some would not revolt at this harsh idea, like myself, but who can breathe unscandalized?—Mr. *BURKE*, though bad enough, is not so bad as that!—He well knows that the reputation of the greatest and the most pure of human kind, is a plant, of a

contexture so delicate, that few can bear up against the boisterous and circumfluent gales of Obloquy, without receiving some material injury from the rude and inclement Visitor: its inherent beauty and its communicative odour, will not render it more valuable in the comprehensive route of Destruction, or tend to its preservation, in any sense, above the common issue of vegetation, which are mown down without compunction, and wither without our regret!—

If Truth were interrogated, at Delphos or elsewhere, relative to this undefinable proceeding, the following questions would be inevitably succeeded by the following responses.

Question I.—Who is immediately annoyed and injured by this prosecution?—Answer, Mr. HASTINGS!

Quest. II.—Who, or whom will be eventually annoyed and injured by this prosecution?—Answer, the PUBLIC!!!

Quest. III.—Who will receive advantage from this prosecution, independent of the servants and artificers? Answer, NONE!

Quest. IV.—Who will be gratified by this unexampled waste of treasure and time?—Answer, Mr. BURKE!

Quest. V.—Will not such an extraordinary and incongruous measure be universally exploded and condemned?—Answer, Not incontinently, the venality of the period will prevent it, but Futurity will solemnly arrange it with the sorrows of *Confucius*; the pangs of *Socrates*, and the martyrdom of the illuminated Saints!

As Mr. BURKE finds it so arduous to qualify or assimilate the vanities of the world; with the inanity of its pleasures—to work out his own salvation

vation in private, with fear and trembling, and in public with rage and proscription; as he is solaced in his closet with penitence, and in the mart with anger;—as he arithmetically thumbs his breviary, to strike a tally in the exchequer of heaven, and all to solicit comfort for his sinful nature, in the very moment of envy; is it not peculiarly lamentable, that while he craves this indulgence for his own imbecilities, he will not extend that indulgence to the imbecilities of another?—What a flinty hearted publican!—What an ungenerous Sinner?

“ Use every man according to his deserts,

“ And who shall escape whipping ?” —————

Few ideas, can be self-suggested between maturity and the grave, of so much import as the endeavour to separate what is vain, from what is unworthy:—this distinction is to an elegant mind, what coarse pleasures and unprofitableness are to the vulgar!—but there are few men who will undertake so much trouble, and there are still fewer, who would understand the separation! when in the plenitude of rage towards another, an observer would imagine, that there must be something more real than the vile satisfaction of having inflicted a wound, to instigate us to such unwarrantable and mean measures!—if, agreeably to the tenants of the Mississippi, we could add the merit of the persecuted to our own, after we had accomplished this base desire, a diminutive sort of approbation might accompany the malefaction: but as we cannot, for what essential purpose do we become angry ourselves, and destroy our brother?

There are moments, when the great acquirements and innate splendid endowments of Mr. BURKE, press upon my imagination, and I regard the *white half* of the man with rapture, until my erratic eye wanders towards his *sable proportions*, then my benign wonder is metamorphosed to gloominess and deep concern:—he has lived symbolical of abrupt good and evil, like the pantomimic figure expressive of day and night. —When his passions are on the wing, he becomes Lord of the manor of invective—he has surely gone too far, on this and other material points of general duty—he has passed the equinox of his judgment, and the winds being adverse to the purposes of retrogradation, he probably never can return!—

There are few circumstances or events that should bring so much uneasiness to observing and thinking people, as the knowledge, from what momentarily occurs, that it is scarcely possible to acquire the approbation of every one, even in the most trivial pursuits according with our restricted state in society!—we seem to have an invincible propensity to disapprove, and when we give our award favorably, it appears as an unwilling sacrifice of our prejudices, which has been wrung out of our base nature by the force of example and the intreaties of our judgment:—this illiberal predilection is among the most hideous features of the human character, and should be universally and firmly resisted, as it tends to the introduction of half our miseries, collectively and individually!—nay, in some instances, the love of obloquy has so completely overthrown the fear of shame, that men publickly arraign their compatriots for a
minor

minor defection or illegality, which they, the arraigners, have perpetrated in a higher and more alarming degree!—we condemn detraction in the tender sex, as a degrading and mean propensity, though such scandal is commonly directed to the unimportant concerns of life; yet we, the reprovers, exercise the functions of a malicious communicant, with all the wantonness of invention, and the steadiness of determined Ruin!—the present prosecution will be a deathless example, to which the children of Animosity will eagerly recur, when they are necessitated to seek a precedent for rigour, at the stern request of national Justice:—yet Mr. BURKE, the generalissimo in this endless campaign of Uncharitableness, will lay his hand upon his heart, before the shrine of *Ignatius*, and supplicate his favorite saint, to procure that mercy for him, which he has shewn to others;—can the vizor never be completely torn from this holy inquisitor's visage, that all mankind may see his complexion is the sombre hue of the Ethiopian, and not the pure whiteness of a primitive zealot? of what element is he formed who can be blest with another's ill?—he seems most happy to grope about the obscurities of Nature!—he thinks himself organized and gifted like the glowworm, and can only shine in the dark!

As the means of reconciliation to the exigencies of our state, and the miseries of our being, we are presented in holy writ with two examples:—Solomon and Job were both deeply intimate with the fleeting properties of humanity, though they were agitated by dissimilar causes!—the first was the happiest of men, the other the most woeful: one knew the vanity of pleasure, the other the

reality of evil. Hence arises the painful truth, that we cannot be unremittingly felicitous, be our wisdom, or our merits what they may!

The late Dr. JOHNSON and Mr. BURKE will appear to the schismatic as two instruments, more necessary to the destruction of the Christian faith, than any other twain, equally wise, and equally conspicuous!—they have been both most scrupulously attentive to the littlenesses of sacerdotal pride, and rigorously maintained the dominion of Faith over good works: yet what has all this unceasing ebullition of piety done to either of the parties?—Dr. JOHNSON was continually trembling at the approach of that dissolution of mortality, which was to waft him to immortal joy! and Mr. BURKE is so far from being resigned or placid, that whenever he casts off the sackcloth of Misery from his loins, he is palpably echinated, shivering, and unblest!—to be brief, SAMUEL JOHNSON'S *death* gave the lie direct to his presumed hope, and EDMUND BURKE'S *life* gives the lie direct to his presumed charity!—those remarks apply to the weaknesses of the men, not the imperfections of our religious establishment.

It must be eminently painful for any, situated like Mr. HASTINGS, to know, that from the narrowness of sentiment prevailing in too great a degree among uninstructed men, a sort of disrespect adheres to that name which has been partially, perhaps malignantly sullied, and has not, from adverse circumstances, been permitted the privilege to blanch itself!—and their sensations are unluckily the most poignant and excruciating under momentary disgrace who merit it the least.

The transition from the contemplation of crimes,

to the hate of the object against whom those crimes are alleged, is with the great bulk of mankind immediate; then is it not a matter of the first importance to our peace and honor, as connected beings, subject to the same moral impressions, that the suspicion of doing wrong, should be considered as suspended and immaterial, until by the concurrence of testimony, the Law has affixed the seal of verity, to the schedule exhibited by the appointed enquirers.

In my apprehension, and I do not believe the conception to be very distant from the truth, the legislative enemies of Mr. HASTINGS may be divided into three distinct classes; the first and most considerable are those, who dread his emancipation from the fetters of the Law, lest, from his acknowledged great ability and information, he might be called upon by his King and Country, to fill some high situation, to their personal disadvantage!—the second are those, who from having been disdained to be received as friends, on *certain terms*, had resolved to become his bitterest foes, and keep no terms whatever:—the third are those, who have suffered their love of fame, to supersede or abolish their early notions of propriety and justice, and have eagerly taken part in the prosecution, which has been supported by the most brilliant Sophisters, under the hope that they might participate in the glory of being illustratively delusive,

“Not as dogs that hunt, but merely to make up the cry!”

Are there any who will maintain, that Reputation should be dependent on a life of impeachment, and that during the continuance of that

impeachment, the integrity of the accused should be suspended in the general opinion?—are there any so unliberalized as to insist, that because one man has declared that another has done ill, that the calumniated should only be allowed a passport to Peace from Death!

If what is legal, is not qualified with what is rational, the procedure may pass as a matter of form, but will never be recognized as a matter of right:—the compatibility of Justice with Discretion must not be doubted, if it is expected that public Reverence should accompany public Rigour!—if uninjured men rush voluntarily forward, to promulgate the commission of high crimes and misdemeanours, by persons previously reputed as irreproachable, such men should, in their own persons and fortunes, be answerable for the identification of the individual, and the exact proof of every supposed atrocity attributable to the parties thus circumstanced!—otherwise the lives of the best men may be embittered by the machinations of the worst, and the *pretence* of doing good, be perverted to the most ominous and afflictive purposes!—on the first suggestions of Calumny, towards an upright man, he should feel happy, that his enemy had made an appeal to the Laws, the decree of which would repurify his name; but according to the aggregate of Statutes, and the prolixity of their decyphers, that rapturous emotion is suppressed in the bosom of the aggrieved victim; as none can feel cheerful in the infancy of an investigation, which managed by subtlety and falsehood, may not be terminated even with their own existence!

Will any thinking man be bold enough to avow,
that

that Futurity will not regard the unexampled, protracted, and singularly severe prosecution of Mr. HASTINGS, without an accompanying regret, if not execration?—it has ever appeared to me as a nefarious proceeding, which will subject the essence of our *Religion* and our *Laws*, to be questioned, if not despised, in unborn times, as the most sublime principles of both have been tarnished, to enforce an act of shame, meanness, and oppression!—I am a stranger to the private manners of this desolated gentleman, but I am not to his public merit, or his wonderful constancy to himself.—His essential character is to unite meekness and efficacy—he is not dismayed or shaken by the menaces of infuriated Disappointment, but with calm sorrow beholds the pitiless storm in motion—he sighs in common with all good men, when the judgment-seat is indented by Malice, and looks aghast at the deep degradation of those, who can with a diabolic cunning, ingraft the scions of Falshood upon a valuable tree, and then pluck unblushingly the unwholesome and exotic fruit—give it eagerly to the national taste, and bid them decide for themselves as to the latent properties of the foreign and forbidden issue.—One of the most considerable of the Managers* on this memorable trial, has circulated an opinion, and made it applicable to himself, which I have no doubt he conceived from a contemplation of the present state of Mr. HASTINGS, and the chilling recompence to public Virtue: the complainant piteously declares, and declares most truly, “ The experience of all

* Vide Mr. Fox's Letter to the Electors of Westminster.

ages and countries teaches us, that Calumny and Misrepresentation are frequently the most unequivocal testimonies of the zeal, and possibly the effect, with which he, against whom they are directed, has served the public." And as it must be presumed, that this suspected paragon does not wish that liberality of sentiment should be monopolised, and administered towards himself only, let him furnish a generous example, and the next time he flanks Mr. HASTINGS, as a myrmidon to the defender of the holy Catholic church, treat him with the charity of a gentleman at least; I will not urge any thing, as to the charity of a Christian, as the apostolic obligations might have been effaced from the creed of his youth.

The meditative man, who looks around him, on occasions like these, and labours to reconcile the effect with the origin, must have a dreary and comfortless prospect!—he will behold every noble emotion of the human bosom, suppressed if not extinguished, to aid the indirect, purposes of a MONSTROUS FACTION!—the fine precepts of Plato, Epictetus, and Xenophon, upon contempt of death and resignation to pain, were never more necessary than in this epoch, when practical rectitude has not the power to retire from the hisses of the unworthy!—when the lawfulness of revenge is supported by the authorities of the Church!—though accession of thought makes us intelligent, that intelligence is not to be envied by the vulgar, as the less they know the less they will feel!—we seek to be acquainted with things, more than to be acquainted with our own nature!—

So inconstant are we to ourselves, and so fragile are our resolutions, that in various cases, where the judgment

judgment drives us to the execution of its measures, we are only laying the foundation of an unbuilt regret, as that very judgment will oftentimes condemn, what it has originally enforced!—our arrogance and our humiliation are unalienable!—we are so huddled together, in one confused and abominable mass, that each must act or be acted upon—we cannot entirely abstract ourselves from the minor obligations of life, to wed ourselves for ever to Wisdom or her progeny!—we cannot imitate the severity of the Stoics, and turn our backs upon the novel ordinances that hourly force themselves upon us, in the zig-zag avenues of busy life!—half the moral ethics of our fathers have been expunged from our code of social regulation, to give place to the more indefinite institutes of Sophistry!—natural Theology is superseded by the undistinguishing arrangements and personifications of Mystery:—no man is prosperous now, who has not thrown a cloak over the surface of his disposition, and kept the mightiest of his passions in the back-ground of the scene!—and the serene progress of a Villain is more to be dreaded, than the open boisterousness of Fury—the latter consumes but itself; the former consumes others!—when it becomes apparent that there is a prejudice in the accuser towards the accused, independent of the great aims of general Virtue, every sentiment originating from such prepossessions should be maturely weighed, before they are admitted to have any effect whatever on the public mind:—There are few men, so refined and meliorated, in whose bosoms there is not a continued war between their reason and their desires!—and I believe there have been few contentions between passion and principle,

ple, where the former impulse was not most powerful and victorious. The antient philosophers asserted that virtue consisted in acting according to our nature; this position may certainly be verified, even now, but we willingly forego the substance for the shadow, and suffer our temporal necessities to obliterate an external obligation!—

If the great question of human purity and impurity were amply discussed, by able disputants, unallied to party and unshackled by prejudices incompetent with morality, then might the advocate for the oppressed look up to Heaven, and utter thus: oh, thou sacred source of all, who gave being to man and ideas to enlighten that being, so far proportion my powers to the exigencies, that I may investigate the right for all, without doing wrong to any!—in this trial of the strength of my understanding, give my mind an additional beam of science, that I may, with precision, know what should be embraced as cognizable, among the innumerable charges, fabricated by Envy and Maliciousness!—endue me with the keenest perception, and make the tablet of my reason adamant, that it may not be designedly or fortuitously impressed with a false image to the disadvantage of arraigned Probity!—when the base pursue and interrogate the worthy, they so change the means to accomplish the end; they so modify their turpitude, that Cupidity takes the semblance of disinterestedness and Rancour of legal firmness! they make our lamented incapacity to do every thing well, the medium of their perseverance to substantiate an imperfection, and with the broadest conviction on their minds that where much has been performed by human agency, a small portion has almost ever been objectionable

to

to the jarring and unaccommodating desires of society!—how must the face of Honesty be flushed, and his pulses quickened, knowing what he knows and seeing what he sees?—may we put our own enormities under a bushel and sit in judgment on the errors of our brother? When men thus frail, can be thus vindictive; and are thus vindictive, possessing no self-created claim to our respect or our honor, should we not turn upon each indig-
nantly, and exclaim,

“Tremble, thou wretch,
That hast within thee undivulged crimes,
Unwhipt of justice: hide thee, thou bloody hand;
Thou perjured, and thou simular man of virtue
Thou art incestuous: Caitiff, to pieces shake,
That under covert and convenient seeming,
Hath practis'd on man's life!”

Upon what imaginary principle of justice, or reciprocation of right, can the reprehension of the accuser, be continued to the accused, for a length of time, comprehending in its extent, more than the usual allotment of action that the Creator allows the creature, who had previously buffeted the vicissitudes incidental to our station for sixty years?—shall the mere presumption of guilt be considered as virtually irretrievable in existence, as the time required for the manifestation of innocence, is incompatible with the brevity of life?—shall the harsh and rude voice of every uninformed or mistaken prosecutor go forth as the death warrant to the reputation and being of the unhappy?—every generous bosom is agitated with indignation at the idea, and revolts against the furtherance of measures which can only be pursued or supported
at

at the expence of all those primitive noble energies of our nature, which in alliance with our moral acquisitions, hold man and man in the soft bonds of endearing amity. Heavy and accursed be his mind, who can seek his enjoyments in the embarrassments of the good: who can add insult to injury, and make his brutal triumphs square with the miseries of the oppressed.

When this consolidated battalion moved in dread array, they had too firm a reliance on their numbers and their prowess; but in this audacious irruption upon the sufferer, perhaps Mr. BURKE thought it necessary to forget or abrogate, one of the most comforting of the divine annunciations; viz.

“ That the race is not always for the swift, nor the battle for the strong.”

This supposition will appear to many eminently surprising, as on many emergencies, the Right Honorable Scrutineer, has proved himself, more unrestrictedly pious, than even the gentle *Athanasius*, or the didactic *Jérôme*, or any intolerant he in the ample catalogue of the hallowed!—but it is probable that Mr. BURKE thinks, adding *good works* to *faith*, is like “making honey a sauce for sugar;” so leaves the expensive part of Christianity to his competitors, and reserves the economic half for his own preservation hereafter!

If Mr. BURKE wishes that posterity should chronicle him as great, he should assume the habits of clemency and forbearance: let him ponder on two of the most beautiful characters in the antique ages: *Antoninus Pius* and *Marcus Aurelius*; who combined authority with humility, and intrepidity with

with compassion:—we cannot become illustrious by fury or surquedry, nor will his memory receive the oblations of the good, who felt not in his nature for the infirmities of humanity!—When the worn Spirit is journeying adown the declivities of life, ill beshrew his heart, who would sedulously cast stones for its annoyance; or wantonly bruise the reed which had been antecedently broken by the tempests of a factious and perturbed world:—as we are denied to be perfect, let it not be forgotten that we are commanded to be kind to each other.

Should every man exercise the powers of cruelty, merely because he is enabled to direct their agency? That eloquent barbarian *Tiberius*, destroyed the victorious and gallant *Germanicus* with grief, from the vile motives of jealousy and hatred, as he was more respected and wiser than himself!—he performed his duty, in the distant provinces of the empire, as became a patriot, a statesman, and a soldier; he subdued the haughty *Arminius*, and regulated and preserved a material portion of the Roman dominion; yet was he after all, the sacrifice of villany, and an eternal example of patience and of honor!—Could we live for ever, this would be even purchasing our base gratifications too dearly; but, as we cannot, our unceasing malignity must be highly unprofitable, and only render us more miserable claimants upon the forgiveness of the injured, and the mercy of Heaven!

So far am I from wishing to attach a load-stone of degradation about Mr. BURKE's neck, that in the moment I censure him for his pertinacious malevolence, I pant for a laudable opportunity to do him honor:—could I take his scholastic merits

in the abstract, and let his principles sink in oblivion, I believe there is not a man living I should be more inclined to revere!—

It is urged that, for wise and salutary purposes, the Omnipotent permits the unworthy to be occasionally triumphant?—*Nero* disportively made Innocence and Merit bleed, and the Saracens lorded it in the land of Canaan;—that our consummation in perfection and bliss can only take place hereafter, and that it was the original purpose of the Deity that many of our inquietudes here should be remediless, though transitory:—considering the frail tenure of our nature, and our overweening regard for temporal happiness, it amazes me, that any should wilfully do wrong, where it is so more immediately as well as eventually profitable to do right:—no man can survey the total closure of his existence, without sensations of uncomfartableness; and those tormenting aptitudes will be more or less potent, in proportion as we have been more or less erroneous!—Men daily sacrifice their ease, health, and reputation, in the pursuits of revenge, without being enabled to furnish a better apology for the damnable industry, than that used by the *Venetian Jew*, namely, “*it is their humour!*”—The malice of several towards Mr. HASTINGS, is so manifest, systematic, and incurable, that I verily believe they sigh for the force of Necromancy, that they might add the spells of incantation to the vile labours of their own consuming malevolence!—hapless humanity, that can be thus moulded to Satanic obligations!—but the pure formation of his understanding has so connected his knowledge of what will be, with what is:—his hope beyond the sepulchre, with probationary misery,

misery, that the powerful machinations of his enemies, affect his body but not his mind:—like arrows half sped, they fall innoxious, and only bruise the earth, that were meant to destroy fortitude.—He looks at the hot and fiery beam of persecution, with a steady and unaffected sight:—“ he has been scorched but not consumed ! ”—

According to the language of some of the managers, Mr. HASTINGS has never, or seldom, been visited by those agonizing compunctions of conscience, which it is presumed we all feel, when the achievement of an evil is recognized by thought: and if these bold assertions were not considered as entirely overthrown, in the opinions of all moderate men, by the irrefragable testimonies of numerous gentlemen, *almost as pure and consistent in action as the honorable inquisitors themselves*, I might be inclined to suppose, that what was only circulated to infuse prejudice, was really meant to establish truth!—When the *ideal charges* were first published, they were presented to the general eye, as preservers of rarities present a microscopic instrument, not for the purpose of seeing things as they really are, but as they are enlarged by the deceiving influence of invention!—so preposterously determined are some of them to malign him, that had he originated in *Bethlehem Ephrata*, they would insist that he was the child of sin, and the pedestal of turpitude!—how egregiously abandoned must be the hearts of those, who will put on a face of seriousness, and solemnly pledge themselves, to prove that realized which never had a being?—it appears that they are no longer desirous of painting the character of an arraigned individual, but his *caricatura*!—they quit the school

of *Rafaele*, and imitate *Goltzius* and *Da Vinci* !—
 Ere Mr. BURKE* led his coadjutors to action,
 he discreetly composed a tragic overture, with
 such terrifying accompaniments, that the actors
 in this tedious drama, who then knew but imper-
 fectly, the precise intention of their sublime prin-
 cipal, might be harrowed up with horror, by the
 mere force of *sound*, and preconceive all that was
 dreadful, from the harsh tenor of the proem:—he
 made their imaginations wander through a Tar-
 tarian gloom, before he introduced them in the
 hall of Judgment;—he forced them upon *Ebal*,
 the mount of threatening and execration; and let
 the patient Sacrifice inhabit *Gerizim*, the mount of
 blessing and promise !

I never entered into Westminster Hall, during
 the sitting of the High Court of Judicature upon
 Mr. HASTINGS, but I was most sensibly affected,
 by a recognition of the vanity and vindictiveness
 of man: the multifarious scene never appeared to
 me as otherwise awful, than as the intervention of
 knowledge whispered, that it possessed the power
 of collectively stigmatizing arraigned greatness !—
 there the upper classes of the masculine and the
 feminine world sit, arrayed in the full plumage of
 precedence, to listen to the copious and crooked
 detail of mischievous policy; and, wonderful to
 relate, a portion seem satisfied, if not pleased, with
 those assaults upon truth and mercy, which make
 the philosopher and the christian weep !—I have

* There are times when it is so difficult to restrain Mr.
 BURKE's piteous fury that I am induced to think, he imagines
 himself similarly impowered, like *Erich*, King of Swedeland,
 who, according to *Olaus Magnus*, needed but to turn his cap to
 beget a general hurricane !

considered it as a grand effort on the part of legislation, challenging human patience!—a sacrifice to gothic forms, at the expence of the common judgment,

“Which might be more honor'd in the breach than the observance.”

There I heard a SHERIDAN, a BURKE, and a FOX, severally make a bankrupt of Fancy, and impoverish all her relatives, to decorate and give a commendatory outside, to what was in its own nature, hideous, lame, feeble, extraneous, and abhorrent!

It may not be irrelative or injudicious to insist here, upon the influence of precedent upon artificial society, which none can deny, and knowing this to reflect upon the horrible tendencies resulting from the establishment of any CASE, as an operative beacon in future, where the love of justice appeared as only secondary to an ignoble impulse:—in times like these, when Ignorance is bursting through her encircling mist, and Reason is expunging from the code of human obligations, every mysterious text that was inserted by Oppression, and only expounded by Subtlety, to create misery; will it be politic or wise, to give the legislative sanction, to a deed of novelty and high importance, and the more especially as the incorruptibility of the *doers*, is yet problematical?—the force of our religion or our laws, cannot receive any additional power from the admission of an act as governing, which is in its own nature complicated and doubtful, and was prosecuted and upheld occasionally by evidence, and occasionally by antipathy!—In the keen chace after ideal criminality

we must not ride the steed of Charity to death ;— could the liberal forgive us for our wanton folly, or could laughter be restrained at our discomfiture when they finally discovered that this ruinous hunt was excited by a time-serving drag trailed by the vicious, and not the true attraction issuing from the scent of a marauder ?—The day of wonder is not far removed, when some of our primary transactions shall be contemplated with astonishment ; when the reasoner, shall ask himself, if Heaven looked on and saw, yet seeing, did not abridge the perpetration, and annul the enormity :—At a period when all Europe, seem intent upon the modification of Rectitude, and the mitigation of torture, should we, who so arrogantly value ourselves upon our forbearance and our philanthropy, annually support the aggrandizement of punishment ; and by a more intolerable effort of ingenuity, then was ever attempted by a christian despot, transfer the torments of the body to the mind, and though we did not imitate the inquisition precisely in all its stages of agony, guilt, and flagellation, be yet more refined in the administration, and suspend a victim for years, until the foul breath of associated malevolence and plunder, contaminated the primogenial escutcheon of his honor ?

I have frequently deplored that but few men know how to live in the world with security, until they are nearly going out of it !—the simple theory of life as consonant with morality, will in our sophisticated state, be found very inadequate to attain that peace we require : uniformly to do well will not shield the doer from uneasiness, as the seeds of grief may be as readily produced from our probity as our vices. The chain of action
which

which connects the love of punishing with the love of virtue, should be indivisible, yet we have daily proofs how widely different they are from each other:—many are reviled as perpetrating a *wrong*, which is in the issue *right*; yet the reviled can have no subsequent comfort, proportioned to the bitterness which such suggestions or affirmations must create!—when the inquest on reputation ceases, their award is seldom equivalent to the real or intended injury. The odiousness of Malice is most repulsive and indelible; and though the monster may sometimes assume the voice of the syren, and the smile of beauty; yet when her fangs are once visible she is held in common abhorrence!—the ingenuous become alarmed for themselves, in proportion as Deception prevails, and the meek and the deserving confederate to resist the inroads of Fallacy and Ruin!—no permanent reformation in our principles or manners can ever be effected by the denunciations or interlocation of bad men!—where the spring is polluted the draught cannot be salutary:—after a continuation of unmerited sufferings, it is but a feeble consolation, to survey the varied orders of men around you, and attempt to strengthen your philosophy, by a knowledge that all are calumniated, in proportion as they are great or wise!—it is but a negative sort of anodyne for the troubles of a wounded heart, to know, that

——“ Be you chaste as ice, pure as snow,
You shall not 'scape calumny.”

If the extreme gratification of envy or hatred,
were eventually honorable or profitable, malignant

men, might have a sickly consolation even in their vices : but as it cannot be either the one or the other, such caitiffs must want even an apology for themselves :—*Laborosarchad*, murdered the son of *Gobrias*, because he was more excellent and more esteemed than himself ; but the vile Assyrian was cut down in the buddings of his violence :—Mr. BURKE is overfraught with acrimony, but Mr. BURKE cannot be happy :—in the wonderful composition of his nature, there is evidently a double government of the old and new man !—his piety is divided to answer the demands of his policy :—it rambles between the Heathen and the Christian temples :—he seems a sort of pyebald bigot, like the *Cuthites*, who worshipped God and their idols in the same moon :—he lives to curse, and curses to enable him to live !—as he became petulant in proportion as he became feeble, he attempted among his *party*, to substitute arrogance for recommendatory opinion :—this disposition rendered him intolerable to a few, and an incumbrance to all :—what he enforced on Monday, he qualified on Tuesday ; explained away on Wednesday ; suspended on Thursday : abjured on Friday ; affected to forget on Saturday, and repented in private on Sunday : to be brief, the waning week was with him a *fugue* of contradictions, incompatible with the seducing harmonies of Truth and Wisdom !—In the paroxysm of his resentful desperation *, he seems to doff all consequence from his
floundering

* It will scarcely receive credit with futurity, when they are informed that Mr. BURKE, rose up suddenly in the House of Commons, of England, in the year 1793, and brandishing a long unsheathed dagger, informed the affrighted senators around him

floundering mind : nor age, nor state, nor the accustomed obligations of retrospective delicacy, can for a moment arrest him in the swift career of his fury !—like the Siroc gale he desolates and parches as he flies :—when his master Passion, is in the keen hunt of prey, it is possible that he would tread with dirty boots, upon the sacred aisle, though tessellated with porphyry, granite, and alabaster, and tear the object devoted to his fangs, from the awe-inspiring fane of Jerusalem !—the semblances of angels and their sheltering wings, would be an unavailing medium to his disjointed reflection ;—he would drag him from the ark and the covenant, and believe, during the turbulence of thought, that the Creator was not displeased with the partial immolation !

As there can be no process in any tribunal, which has not, more or less, a communicative analogy to the usages of every other judicial tribunal in the same realm ; it should interest every order of men, concerned in the conducting or maturing of that process, not to run riot with authority, and give welcome to a governing absurdity :—let each man lay his hand upon his heart, in the auditory, and say, shall I, even in opinion, criminate a man who, it has been admitted, has been commonly beneficial, because my discernment, has been clouded by his accusers, who are uncommonly ingenious ?—Let them not depose Mercy, and her fair train of Heaven-dropped dependents in compliment to the fine powers of an eloquent league :

him, that such were the instruments with which the cruel, blood-thirsty Gallic villains meant to stab their wives and daughters, “ call you this fraternal love,” said the intemperate gentleman, “ Pshaw !”

let their decrees be consistent with themselves as men, but not inconsistent with their projected pleas of salvation:—let not the legerdemain of black art, supersede the less violent magic of truth!—they dealt forth their lightning, and made half our senses torpid!—they seemed to issue their terrific charges to lay an embargo on the liberality of a listning world!—to enchain Investigation by benumbing its faculties in the first instance!—as the admitted privileges of Enmity now stand, the bare accusation of practical Hatred, goes completely to the proscription of all temporal felicity, whether the unhappy object be guilty or not: his patriotism, philanthropy, diligence, and spirit, are forsooth to pass as nothing!—the grateful testimonies of all the governed in his behalf, are to be held as nugatory and ineffectual:—had Mr. HASTINGS been a Tyrant, a Voluptuary, a Traitor, or an Impostor, he should not, in the hour of his calamity, have had my feeble argument in his favour: I plead for him as energetically as I am able, because I am convinced, he is entitled to the respect and support of every dispassionate, unbiassed individual:—when the hidden designs of the movers of this massy engine of peculiar torment, become visible, and like another *Gorgon*, appall the general sight, this massy prosecution will be noted, as the struggle of Ambiguity, and the wreck of Principle.

According to the properties of our nature, every man's imagination runs before his experience, and we are affected almost as considerably, with an ideal impression of what may be, as by the actual administration of what is!—if there is any true bravery or virtue in a mind thus constituted, the possessor rushes forward to the completion of that
disaster

disaster which his creative fear has engendered; but if, on the contrary the individual is timid, (and timidity is not always a sign of guilt) he recedes as much as possible from the evil in his view, and wishes even to arrest Time; yet in either case the sensations are torn by doubts, and rendered incessantly uncomfortable, until the error is developed:—as this is the wretched state to which we are subject, by the frailties interwoven with animal nature; is it not calamitous to know, that any legislature, which calls itself wise and provident, should consign any the meanest being, to a continuation of that torment of anticipation, for a series of years; to a painful brooding over the doctrines of chance; to an imperfect calculation of what prejudice may effect, in opposition to the meek complaints of Verity; and merely in obedience perhaps, to some unlicensed slanderer, who knowing his power to make the laws convenient to his infamy, will dare to chain a good man to the consecrated altars of Justice, and smile at his writhings and mock his lamentation.—I turn from such a supposition with the most high-wrought indignation;—every statute enforcing or supporting such a gangrene in our jurisprudence, should be solemnly expunged from the code of a liberal nation.—If it should be urged that I write too boldly for these crouching and accommodating times in Britain, I would answer, that I will hazard all for the sake of Virtue: the sentiments of an honest man, like the ebullitions of the Nile, may flow irregularly, yet no region can be ultimately damaged by their influence—this æra is critically delusive, and no one should be contented to remain negatively good, every man should be positively

tively dutiful to his King, his Country, and HIMSELF.

The most considerable and weighty of Mr. BURKE's political apophthegms, seem to quit their fecund parent, and their parent them, when they are matured by Time and Experience: like the more alert species of criminals, that are fugitives from the author of their being, when able to walk alone, and leave their creator (who cannot always recognize his offspring) to generate another race, equally wild and equally inconstant!—he puts his foot upon his own sentiments, like *Hermes* stamping on quicksilver; he may disunite the particles by his violence, but cannot entirely destroy their influence by any means; he recommends a medicine for the constitution, with sinister views, but when that medicine becomes general, like an interested *Charlatan*, he withdraws his own encomium, and broadly insinuates that the ingredients are poisonous, which he primarily mingled for his own particular advantage.—There is one amazing prominence in Mr. BURKE's* portrait, which

* A very particular and kind friend of mine, who has been for many years in the closest habits of intimacy with Mr. BURKE, and who, I have some reason to believe, will be found at his demise (like Lord ROCKINGHAM, Admiral SAUNDERS, and Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS) not to have been much aggrandised in pecuniary circumstances, by the intimacy; at the commencement of this shameful business, produced to a large company at his own table, when I was present, the printed charges against Mr. HASTINGS, the most virulent and base of which he read with much energy.—I told him at the time, that I believed them to be the cruel fabrication of mean villany, in which a grain of truth was artfully mingled with a ton of falsehood:—he replied with some emotion, that he was sorry for my ingenuous ideas of Mr. BURKE.—I have pressed him hard upon

which will stagger the belief of another generation, and that is, the absolute uncertainty of discovering what he really means: those who know him most deeply, know not the direct tendency of his principles, or indeed whether he has any fixed principles or not—The object of his scorn in one year, is the object of his idolatry in the next; and the position of political good, which he yesterday inculcated as the warm effervescence of wisdom, he will to-day renunciate as *machiveleain* and abominable! if it is admitted that his authority is of any importance whatever, those who admit that importance, should be occasionally pinned down to explain or qualify the supposed absurdity annexed to his contradictory efforts.

The late House of Commons, upon the cause of Mr. HASTINGS, were divided into three parties; the first, consisting of ninety-one gentlemen, thought he ought not to have been impeached *for any thing*;—the second, of which Mr. BURKE was the leader, thought or rather appeared to think, he should be impeached *for every thing*;—and the third, of which Mr. PITT was the head, declared that the merits of Mr. HASTINGS were great, that he had preserved an Empire, in a period of the utmost danger and most critical difficulties; but that he had broke a treaty in one instance,

upon the subject since that period, and his original sorrow for my mistake is now completely done away—Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS and I had a similar dialogue upon the same odious theme: he laboured to paint Mr. BURKE as an angel in modern drapery; but I cut him short by observing, that though no man admired his fine powers of design more than myself, I did not think him equal to the task of giving a *correct* outline of EDMUND BURKE—to have that with spirit and effect, we must wait for the resurrection of *Salvator Rosa*.

france, had expended too much money in three other instances (I hope this charge will never be brought against the *Premier* himself) had accepted presents, (not quite so lucrative or fraught with patronage as the wardenship of the *Cinque Ports*) and had intended to levy a fine upon a Zemindar, beyond that amount which his offences deserved—the two last parties, when united, consisted of one hundred and seventy-seven gentlemen; and this number in fact voted that WARREN HASTINGS, Esq. should be impeached in the name of the people of Great Britain!

It is very material for every man who would form a true judgment of this cause, to bear in mind, that upon the first six articles, Mr. PITT promised to move several very material amendments, which, had he carried a majority with him, would have reduced them very considerably: that he opposed the seventh altogether, and that the last thirteen were never looked at by the House before they were voted!—here then were twenty articles preferred against a British subject, who was generally known to have performed great and important services to his Country, comprehending every material act of his public life, civil, military, revenue, and financial, in a government of thirteen years!—the greatest part of the acts having been declared by the Minister, during the discussions upon the business, to be highly and singularly meritorious!

The trial began in February 1788, and the prosecutors went through two articles—In 1789, they went through half of a third—In 1790, they completed the remainder of that third article, and took very small parts of two more, and the Parliament was dissolved. Such

Such were the proceedings of the Court of Justice—In the House of Commons, Mr. HENRY DUNDAS, the India Minister, gave the public annually, an Indian budget: and while the Managers, in the name of the Commons, were telling all the world that Mr. HASTINGS had desolated provinces, and rendered the British name detestable throughout Indostan, Mr. DUNDAS was affirming, in the most solemn manner, that the Country had improved, and was daily improving under the government of Great Britain.—A member of the House, MAJOR SCOTT, never missed an opportunity of declaring, that the absurdity in which Parliament was involved, was disgraceful beyond all comparison; it was not possible for Mr. DUNDAS and the Managers to be both right; since light and darkness were not more opposite than their respective statements were, relative to Bengal, Benares, and Oude.

On the meeting of this Parliament, the constitutional question was determined, that a dissolution of the Senate did not abate an Impeachment, and then the Commons voted to give up all that remained of their articles (that is fourteen out of twenty) save what related to contracts, pensions, and allowances.

But the changes in India, since this Impeachment began, are wonderful and extraordinary; all the several ranks of people, whom he is accused of having oppressed and plundered, have joined as one man in bearing testimony to his merits; the officers of the army, and the civil servants have done the same. Since Bengal has been under another government, it has been reduced to greater distresses, in the course of one year, against a single enemy,

enemy, than it had experienced, than it had felt, in a war of five years, in the time of Mr. HASTINGS, when all India and half Europe were opposed to him:—under this supreme embarrassment, two treaties have been broken in the most flagrant and avowed manner, and to the breach of these treaties, Mr. PITT and Mr. DUNDAS have given *their entire approbation!!!*—We have been eventually successful, and I mean not to convey any oblique reproach on the nobleman alluded to, but only to exhibit to mankind, an unerring proof of the pliability of opinion, as to the admission of the necessities of *right* and *wrong*, when the parties giving that opinion are interested personally or not.—They prosecute Mr. HASTINGS for a breach of treaty, though of that breach, no man or woman complains; but they approve the breach of two treaties, though the Nabob of Arcot, and the Rajah of Tanjore, have remonstrated most violently against our conduct, and have even resisted to the utmost of their power.

Under these circumstances does the trial recommence:—it had cost the nation, in May 1791, forty-five thousand, four hundred and seventy-four pounds, seven shillings and a halfpenny, as appears by the sums voted in the following years:

	£.	s.	d.
In 1788 Parliament voted	8,058	15	1½
In 1789 - - - -	20,312	6	4
In 1790 - - - -	2,951	1	10
In 1791 - - - -	14,153	3	9

Total 45,475 7 0½

I believe

I believe there are some men, singularly constituted by Heaven, to become examples, to their species!—who are uplifted to the extreme heights of temporal honor, and when thus enviably circumstanced, and while the rays of glory are playing round their heads, suddenly exposed, without removal, to the wild war of the annihilating elements!—the upright demeanor of the assailed, in this hazardous imminence, proves the criterion of human greatness!—though a good man thus situated, may have his hair dishevelled and his mantle torn, the beauty of his proportions will remain entire, and the constancy of his soul unawed!—none can exhibit this firmness, but those who have been the intimates of Virtue!—a nobleman like that, occasion may incite but not entice:—he moves by affection, and not for affection:—he governs and obeys with equal serenity, as both the principles of action are, with him, the same wholesome fruit arising from one consideration!—he will not condescend to examine things by their form, but their quality:—he draws not his felicity from the administrators of Fortune, but his own thought, which will be eternally productive of bliss, were the local convulsions as tremendous as the last shock of nature!—he knows his mind and his body to be cast upon the world, as relatives, of distinct importance, similar to the ore in a mineral state, when it is immersed in the crucible; which when the probationary influence has ceased, the metal and the dross will separate from each other for ever!—he proves the strength of his bow, before he gives expedition to the arrow!—his disposition may vary according to the accidents of Time, but he is immutable:—he changes his
garment

garment with the Season, but not his feelings:—his faith gives him the capability of enduring all failings but his own:—his fears are always anterior to his transaction:—he lives to be what he is, for others more than for himself:—when characters, so nearly perfect, are among us, it is incumbent to revere them for their honor, and imitate them for our own:—this is not an ideal portraiture, for such a man is WARREN HASTINGS.

In my limited comprehension of the duty we owe each other, I think that a due portion of shame, is not annexed to the violation of those acknowledged rules of self-government, which have been openly professed as the guides and guardians of action!—we cannot at once be frivolous and estimable; and continually changing, yet affecting to be exemplary!—Mr. BURKE will ever be a memorable instance of such incoherency, and in the present hour, only endeavours to elude contempt, by hiding beneath the bastions of arrogance!—He wetted those dispatches with his tears, which conveyed the death of the gallant rebel Montgomery, before Quebec, who was an enemy and a traitor to the state; and he wetted likewise those dispatches with his tears, which conveyed the demolition of the Bastille, which had held in its dismal dungeons, for ages, numbers of virtuous and brave men, who had been captured and immured at the caprice of the prostitutes of France:—their releasement from undecipherable horror, and unmerited punishment gave this worthy man trouble!—this diversity of sentiment is too awfully serious, too mischievously solemn, to be passed by as merely inconsistent, and it is too methodical to be denominated lunacy!—then
what

what can I say of Mr. BURKE, but that he is a non-descript Philosopher; a Quixitonian Theorist, who fights, laughs, and weeps in the same moment; whose axioms contradict each other, and whose practice is even more irreconcilable (to my judgment) than his theory!

If I should escape annihilation from this relentless inmate of Ferocity, for venturing to be thus candid, I shall be singularly fortunate: the Right Honorable Gentleman has been long inured to the habit of demolishing, (as far as language could effect demolition) all opponents, whether single or combined:—his overheated fancy travels before his powers, and he snatches, in idea, at immortal prowess:—the behest of the Almighty, can alone be satisfactory to him, who unremittingly vociferates, “vengeance is my own.” He roared to twenty-four millions of French, and said, “let there be no National Assembly! yet the National Assembly remained in the very teeth of his ordinance:—let there be no WARREN HASTINGS, ejected the fulminating man, yet WARREN HASTINGS exists and is honoured in his despite:—these reductive disappointments have nearly brought him to the threshold of Desperation:—perhaps, as the Fates knew it was not in the nature of Mr. BURKE to suffer his enemy to depart in peace, according to the word, they have favored Mr. HASTINGS, and postscripted the date of his journey to Elysium!—what a tragic, comic, farcical, pantomimical, rhetorical, imitative, contemplative, whimsical, woeful olio, will be the unadulterated history of EDMUND BURKE in his passage from the nursery to the tomb?

It is not expedient or necessary for me, in this

limited endeavour, to rescue an exalted and estimable man, from partial odium, to enumerate every recommendatory feature in the character of Mr. HASTINGS!—my primary hope and expectation is, to make truth superior to artifice, and this desire must be accomplished, to enforce the great ends of the Deity: few men have the powers of reasoning, but all men can feel: hence arises the necessity of re-smoothing the public mind, from those hideous impressions which have been stamped upon the softer part of its tablet, when the guardians of the judgment, were too unknowing and weak, to question the propriety of the measure, or to oppose those who were entrusted with the foul undertaking!—the voluntary and generous confession of all who know Mr. HASTINGS is, that no man was ever more attached to the well-being of the human race in general, or his compatriots in particular; exclusive of that high situation and those warring connections which he entered into, by the express combination of an important national society, he feels that he is related to all the degrees of mankind:—the more calmly and acutely, the examination into his principles and government is managed, the more wide and luminous will be his present and posthumous fame;—contemplating the dispositions and views of his immediate active opponents (and however false they may prove to him, or to each other, they are certainly in the present instance a mighty confederacy). I am frequently induced to imagine, that they are not serious, even when they affect to be most solemn!—I think they have seized this opportunity to shew what they could do if they would, not wishing what they have done
should

should be effectual in spirit—Perhaps Mr. BURKE and his eloquent *instruments*, may be ambitious of copying the academics, who were argumentative philosophers that maintained both sides of a system with great ardour and fluency, yet had no faith in the tenor of either one position or the other!—but this misapplication of ability should be discontinued: this misuse of the thunderbolt should be awfully punished—To vindicate the cause of insulted worthiness, each man should become a volunteer:—for my part, every fibre and atom of my brain shall be dedicated to him, who has been torn from the bosom of Quietude to answer the interrogatories of polished Cunning!—who has been immolated on the altars of illegitimate Policy, and the temporary victim of an illiberal prepossession!—

When I reflect upon the immense erudition and unaccountable movements of Mr. BURKE, I am bewildered as to the direction of my praise, censure, or pity: the argument which he delivers from his closet, is refined though delusive; but the argument which he delivers orally, is often acrimonious, vulgar, and without example.—He is the very High-priest of Contradiction, and abuses that Plutus on the Pentecost, to whom he had offered an unrequired sacrifice in the preceding week!—surely, his die of political rectitude is pentangular, and he forms his governing axiom of propriety *for the day*, from that side which Accident throws uppermost!—he gives me the idea of *Plato's* original hermophradite, possessing all the weaknesses, love of finery, and pertinacious resentments of some women, blended with the masculine fury appertaining to the opposite sex, and

thus astonishingly gifted, generates from himself, independent of common communication !

Poor man, what a falling-off have we witnessed, from the full-blown beauty of his meridian day !—how consolatory it would be for himself—how satisfactory to mankind—how recommendatory to unborn ages, if this philosophic *Proteus* would copy out the example of the *fifth* CHARLES, and retire from the weight of a too oppressive grandeur, to the hallowed recesses of a foreign cloister : there let him ponder over the homilies of the neglected Fathers, and measure with his mind's eye, the remaining remnants of mortality ; and then, peradventure, if the good old patriarch at Rome, should ever lift his reverend head again, above the waters that have been troubled by the slaves of an *impious* Philosophy, and put on his tiara with confident pride, and say boldly, here am I ; the discomfited, the perturbed EDMUND, may be classed in the catalogue of the blessed, and have the prayers of myriads to waft him to the heaven of heavens—The accustomed intercession of the faithful for his release from the intermediate state of purgation between Death and Empyrean, will be for him unnecessary, as luckily he has already felt the pangs of purgatory in Saint Stephen's chapel.

In the midst of that commotion among the governing states, which the late continental convulsions have occasioned, there is no apprehension so deeply rooted in the fancy of the aghast tremblers, as the dread of the people recurring to the first principles which should direct and attach society : yet, notwithstanding the force and prevalence of these terrors, they doze and continue the same

same schefis, which events have proved are certainly detrimental to the ruler and the ruled!—to rescue the oppressed from oppression, or the deserving from penury, appears to be considered as an obsolete tax upon those who should patronize, and those who should protect!—though this paragraph is not immediately relative to Mr. HASTINGS or his concerns, yet as it arises out of my present reflection upon the injustice of nations, and the tardiness of social liberality, I have inserted it without hope, but not without anger—I believe from my scrutiny, that the *mens conscia recti*, is considered to be a reward so complete and exhilarating to the possessor, that no one thinks it necessary to add to the luxuriant gratification!—Fortune, like a meretricious wench, ever retains her predilection for the knavish: the vile and the rascally can meet a friend at every corner, and snatch a benefit from every breeze.—J. J. Rousseau, whose purity of thinking was most admirable, and whose purity of action was still more lovely, could not by his industry and his virtue, procure the paltry sum of sixty livres a month for his subsistence, in that polluted capital, where a CALONNE and a BRETEUIL could throw their millions wantonly around them, as the whirlwind scatters the dust in the Arabian desert!—will it always be thus?

Mr. HASTINGS* has had one increasing con-

* This trial has long since been mentioned on the Continent in terms of surprise: it was lately introduced into the debate of M. BRISSOT, in the National Convention, as a convenient tub thrown for the amusement of that insatiate whale, the public; to keep their minds from the contemplation of subjects in which their glory and prosperity are deeply involved.

solation at least, to cheer his mind under the pressure of a singular difficulty, and that is, that the charges originally imposed upon his character, have, like *Esop's* overladen basket, been gradually diminishing and destroyed, in proportion as he approaches to the goal of destination!—

At the termination of the impeachment, for the year 1791, Mr. HASTINGS, with the most solemn deportment, addressed the High Court of Parliament, on the accumulating dangers and distresses arising from his unprecedented and unmerited situation—It was not the circumlocutory harangue of Art, but the direct and decent lamentation of a great mind: it was the burst of supreme sorrow and well-mannered indignation:—it was the broad appeal of reddening Honour, who had been insulted and goaded to the highest point of irritability, by the unceasing toil and supererogation of Traduction and Antipathy.

It appears from consequences, that our *Religion* is inadequate to enforce the obligations of our faith, and that our *Laws* are not competent to the separation of subtle mischief from positive evil!—we solicit mercy for our own enormities, yet deny that mercy to the frailties of our neighbour!—we establish laws for our mutual good, yet expound them for particular annoyance.

If the love of Justice is only assumed to hide the more powerful emotions, arising from a love of plunder, what must that nation think who can discover the vile hypocrisy, and apply the instance?—

Could the dismemberment and ransacking the throne of Delhi:—could the regal appurtenances of Sesostris, and the riches of his hundred-gated Thebes!

Thebes!—could the gems of Babylon, or the brilliant womb of Golconda, restore serenity to a mind that has been torn and agitated, by Malice, Falshood, and Rapacity?—

If any are so restricted in their knowledge of our propensities, as to think that no man will receive censure, merely because he deserves praise, I pity their ignorance, though I admire their ingenuous purity!—could the dread of a posthumous tribunal be alienated from the perception of base men, the Omnipotent would be mentioned with disrespect, in despite of the blessings they derive from the wonderful and salutary administration of matter and motion.—This eminently respectable and consistent man has suffered more, in the defence of his good name, than any of the beatified knew, previous to the final act of martyrdom: the incarnation of the Messiah, was scarcely more fraught with woe: yet what can be the termination of all this over-wrought fallacy, but eventual contrition and general sorrow?—the eternity of Truth may be questioned, but cannot be destroyed!

To doubt the decisive justice of the HIGH COURT OF PARLIAMENT, were to commit a solecism upon Reason: their individual honor; their august attributes; their collective dignity forbid the interposition of any thought inconsistent with the purposes of universal good; yet as the best *have been* led astray, and the most enlightened perplexed, it is not utterly impossible, according to the weaknesses of our system, but Errors may, in a restricted sense, have effected an establishment, and blotted the delineations of Right and Innocence!—The declaration of the penetrative *Trismegistus*, on a less solemn occasion, may not be wholly

wholly inapplicable here :—" *Homo est imaginatio quædam, & imaginatio est supremum mendacium!*

Arraigned but not suspected—traded but not dishonored—persecuted but not destroyed, what can the devoted do but bow their heads to Destiny, and take the cup of bitterness, with calmness if not content.—Thus wondrously circumstanced is this GREAT and GOOD MAN.—Envroned by the wily, the interested, and the fallacious—he is denied the power to retaliate on his accusers, agreeably to the dictates of equity, as they are collectively too ponderous for common resistance.—The greater body is sometimes permitted by the Omnipotent to oppress the lesser; the *Earth* may totally eclipse the *Moon*, but the *Moon* cannot wholly eclipse the *Earth*! Mr. HASTINGS may exclaim, with the imperial Briton, ADRIAN the Fourth, that he has been strained through the *Limbeck* of Affliction. To minds less elevated and enlightened, such a continuation of calamity would be dreadful, if not intolerable: but when the powers of reflection are strengthened by honour and science, temporary resignation will be succeeded by felicity. I shall conclude my animadversions, with the Orison of an indignant world,

Stet fortuna domus avi numerentur avorum.

EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

“ Ingrate, he had of me
 “ All he could have : I made him just and right,
 “ Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.”

MILTON.

EDWARD GIBBON was born in the year 1738.—He had a commission in the army at a very early period of his life. Before he was twenty years of age he wrote *An Essay on Literature*, in the French language, and very properly dedicated this virgin effort of his great mind to his father. I can trace him in no intermediate instance, as an author, between that time and the winter of 1778, when he illuminated the world with the first volume of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. He was brought into parliament in the year 1774; and in 1777, was appointed one of the Lords of Trade; upon this occasion he suffered the accusation of ungenerously deserting the popular party*. In 1783, Mr. GIBBON retired to Lau-

* The following notification was written in the marginal leaf of the first volume of his *History of the Roman Empire*, immediately after these words, in the hand writing of Mr.

fanne, in Switzerland, to complete the three remaining volumes of his history, which begins from the death of Trajan, and comes down to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, comprehending a period of 1300 years. He returned to England in 1787, and soon after revisited his salubrious villa on the Helvetic mountain.

The history of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, has acquired to its author a very high and deserved reputation.—He appears to me to possess uncommon learning, an unceasing portion of industry, a rich and vigorous imagination, and much political sagacity—as to his style, it seems to me very unequal, we sometimes meet with three or four periods in succession, which hardly contain half a dozen words each; there are instances of this defect in the first page of the performance under consideration—there are others as disgustingly long as those of LORD CLARENDON; the first defect always gives the expression a kind of pertness and flippancy, very unsuitable to the dignity of history: the latter error renders it weak and

GIBBON, “ From the author to the Right Honorable CHARLES JAMES FOX.—“ Eleven days before the Spanish rescript was signed, the writer of this book declared in my presence at *Brookes’s*, that there would be no salvation for this country, until the heads of six of his majesty’s ministers were cut off and laid upon the table: eleven days afterwards he accepted a place at the Board of Trade, and has ever since joined in every measure with those very ministers!!! CHARLES JAMES FOX.” The book containing this inscription was purchased by a particular friend of mine, at a public sale of Mr. Fox’s household furniture, and is now in his possession.

A. P.

languid,

languid, consequently destroys that interest we should have in the event by fatiguing the attention; for wherever the ultimate sense is too long suspended, the observation relaxes in its pursuit of the meaning.—Mr. GIBBON has been accused (equally with DAVID HUME) of having infected our style of language with French idioms and constructions; but this, it must be confessed, is but seldom apparent, and operates but very feebly to the detriment of the undertaking; but to counterbalance this, there are various passages written with exquisite beauty, in which he has united all the glowing warmth of a fine imagination, with all the energy and vigour of expression:—he is said to have made *Tacitus* his example very frequently, and to have imitated him laboriously in his style; I do not think the comparison is altogether indisputable, but should suppose that this idea is only true with regard to particular passages; the style of *Tacitus* is characterised by conciseness and strength; perhaps Mr. GIBBON resembles the Roman narrator more in his politics than his language—it is probable that this work would not have been less useful, but certainly more agreeable, had it been less voluminous: the narrative of an obscure and doubtful portion of history can scarcely be too much abridged. If, instead of giving society twelve octavo volumes, Mr. GIBBON had confined his history to eight, it would have been more generally perused; though the *amateurs* of dusty records and learned dullness, had found less matter for their peculiar gratification—it is not my wish that these objections should be considered as applicable to

Mr. GIBBON in a singular sense, I only insist, that few individuals feel satisfied with the *minute detail*, of all the sudden and unprepared irruptions, and retreats of barbarous nations, through twelve long volumes.

When the fifteenth chapter of Mr. GIBBON'S history made its appearance, it excited some alarm among the ecclesiastics of this realm, and gave birth to a polemic war—the awful subject that occasioned this commotion, was the establishment of Christianity in the time of Constantine, and this unpleasant issue will not surprise the scientific, as no theme has ever shaken the peace of human society so much as an investigation or discussion of the principles of our faith!—The obnoxious tenets of this admirable performance, were most seriously combated by Mr. DAVIS, and the BISHOP of LANDAFF, who wrote, in consequence, the *Apology for Christianity*.—Mr. GIBBON received these formidable assailants of his reputation with coolness and resolution, and when he thought their ardour abated, wrote an immortal answer to Mr. DAVIS, in which his scrupulous opponents were severally resisted; this timely replication had a strong effect, for it was then thought that Mr. GIBBON had evinced a responsibility equal to the ascribed error.

Supposing, as I do, that schism and infidelity originate in the love of singularity, rather than the force of conviction, I must condemn Mr. GIBBON for his Herculean endeavours to root up every radical fibre, from which the tree of devotion receives its sustenance, and is empowered to blossom gratefully to the senses.—
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Had he confined his bold animadversions to the abuses of the priesthood, and left the institutes of Christianity unaffailed, he would have effected a material benefit, by recommending, and perhaps accomplishing, a timely purgation of monkish impurity.—If it is considered that the practice of piety, even without truth, is consolatory to the mind, as is admitted by our theologists to be the case, in regard to the most imperfect of religious duties, how much more should it be promoted when its truth is ascertained to the understanding, by the united power of prophecy and revelation. I admire the modest, calm, necessary declaration of J. J. ROUSSEAU on this theme, who, without pretending to be either an atheist or a zealot, avers that it is the finest combination of moral ethics that ever was promulgated.—Where can Urbanity and Philanthropy find a better resource? Whenever Christianity decays, it will be with Hope on her right hand, and Resignation on her left; and until Mr. GIBBON can furnish a comforting substitute in the hour of supreme distress, I think his philosophy injurious, and his enquiries unprofitable.

Not to extend our faith and hope but where our senses can accompany us, is to make a voluntary sacrifice of our peace to our pride. Every thing we know of the origin of humanity, the world, and its appendages, is so involved in the verity of Moses, that if we presume to deny credit to the Sacred Writings, we can extend no credit elsewhere equivalent to the purposes of mental satisfaction. It is in religion, as in all other sublunary establishments, the truth suffers
by

by the intervention of faction; and the farther we are removed from the time when a doctrine was first propagated, the more mysterious and doubtful will that system of theology be, not because it becomes less pure, but because it is less understood! When the coming of the *Messiah* corresponded with the prophecies of *Daniel* and *Isaiah*, the Jews, in despite of conviction, altered the order of time, and were wilfully false, in order to be pertinaciously adherent to their own governing weaknesses!

The animadverter on the *Nicene* faith, which is the basis of our worship, can never want food for the appetite of Ridicule while the pious reveries of *Athanasius* start forward on its pages, and make the thoughtful smile! This surprising gentleman trisected the Deity, like a Polypus, and made each part active and omniscient! but whether this plural prædication of the divine perfections has been properly instrumental to the great cause of mutual charity and social thankfulness to heaven, I shall leave to those who can exactly measure how far an unlimited obedience of opinion is reconcileable to human happiness. The period for persecution on matters of thought is, I hope, for the honor of our nature, gone by, never to return. Were *Saint Hilary* living now, there could not be found a *Constantius* who would banish the good old man for the signification of an *Hypostasis*!—the *Sardican* club would now anathematize in vain, and the *Tritheist* and his heresy go unquestioned to the grave. *Sabellius* denied the real subsistence of the Son and Holy Spirit to make an unsubstantial son and an unsubsisting spirit; for
which

which he was loudly censured by the Alexandrian Synod, who met to reunite, *if possible*, the shivered fragments of Christianity: but notwithstanding their rank and holiness, it is even yet a doubt with some, if the Creator ever approved of their arguments or their fury: yet what can be done in such an awful predicament, where all think differently, and all pretend to be right, yet none are satisfied, but eat our crust in peace, and be grateful to the author of the donation?

Had Mr. GIBBON duly pondered before he attempted to obliterate the prejudices of our forefathers, he would not have given that opinion wings which can only be seen by the ignorant to do mischief, and by the wise to excite disgust; being as we are, it were better to be innocently deceived, than scientifically miserable: but Mr. GIBBON appears to be more jealous of his wit than his discretion—of his acquired merits, than his presumed inherent virtue. It is extraordinary, that our regards for an extraneous reputation, without which we could exist with comfort, should supercede our regards for those moral excellencies, without which we could not exist with honor to ourselves, or advantage to the world. This melancholy truth imputes a triumph to vanity which should make human nature shudder at its own imbecilities!

Great as my veneration is for the erudition and talents of Mr. GIBBON, I would rather be remembered as a man inoffensively just, than flagitiously witty: and this idea cannot be too much circulated, as it gives to every individual the power of respecting himself and being re-
spected

spected by others; all may be just, though all cannot be ingenious; and so long as to be just is considered as the primary merit, all have it in their own agency to be esteemed without the aid of any superlative endowment.

The following obligations I conceive to be indispensable in an historian: he should record events antecedent to his own time, without suffering any passion to exercise its particular influence, except the ambition of supporting Truth; the recital of barbarities should not overheat his imagination, nor the sufferings of virtue make his pity too predominant; he should not erase to be partial, or omit to gratify a leading opinion; he should bring the departed offender to a posthumous tribunal slowly, and with circumspection, and as all defence is excluded, the charges should be recognized and narrowed by Charity; he should not make Philosophy put her broad foot upon the neck of Religion, as the prostration can only tend to make the community sigh: with him, while arranging the progress of circumstances, all local habits should be made to square with the æra in which they prevailed; and when he sums up the aggregate matter, his reason and his patriotism should co-operate to adduce conclusions, which, in his mature thought, may lead to the maintenance of what is *right*, and the exclusion of what is *wrong*.

VOLTAIRE, in his letters on the English Nation, asserted, that we had not an historian equal to writing the history of England, but HUME. ROBERTSON and GIBBON were then unknown; forty years ago we were inferior to all Europe
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in this point, now we are confessedly superior to all competition. I will here take an opportunity to give my opinion upon the merits of our principal historians; an opinion, which, it is probable, may be often injudicious, from the want of a better taste and a better memory.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

HE is one of the first of our English historians of any note after the restoration of letters. He wrote a small history of England; likewise a general history of the world, much more voluminous. Society are, perhaps, indebted, for his literary labours, to the malice and intrigues of *Gondomar*, the Spanish Ambassador, for he wrote all, or the greatest part of his works, during his imprisonment in the Tower. His stile possesses that sober and matron-like dignity which is so properly adapted to the historic muse; and he deserves great praise for a certain neatness and simplicity in the construction and arrangement of his matter, which was superior to the age in which he lived.

LORD BACON,

WHOM the coxcomb poet of our nation has denominated

“ The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind,”

possesses, as an historian, but a small claim to our applause; for had he written nothing but his

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History

History of Henry the Seventh, it is probable, that both his memory and his fame had scarcely out-lived his more frail anatomy. There are several passages in the above history which might have been supposed not unsuitable to the imagination and prejudices of an old woman. As to the style, it is full of puns and quibbles; and, to say every thing in one sentence, is exceedingly infected with the bad taste prevalent in the reign of that royal pedant James the First.

KNOLLES.

THIS is one of the best historians that England, or any other country, has ever produced. His *History of the Turks* is written with great spirit and dignity; and some particular passages with a force and energy which would have done honor to the most celebrated historians, ancient or modern. We have only to lament, that such fine talents were misapplied, and spent their fire and vigor upon a subject so uninteresting and obscure. Had he written the history of England, of ancient Greece, or Rome, in a manner of which he was capable, he had immortalized his name; but owing to his injudicious choice of a subject, both his name and his history are nearly forgotten. He lived in the time of JAMES the FIRST, and in some degree resisted the literary absurdities of that epoch.

LORD

LORD CLARENDON,

CONSIDERING his attachment to the royal cause, has composed his history with more candor and impartiality than could reasonably be expected from a writer thus circumstanced; but men will always decide differently of this according to their several predilections or affections. The particular talent of this historian is his masterly manner of drawing characters. He has delineated the portraits of the principal personages, of both parties, with a sagacity and penetration which has rarely been equalled, perhaps hardly ever surpassed; they may, not unaptly, be termed a series of moral paintings: yet, notwithstanding these qualities of candor, impartiality, and sagacity, indispensably necessary in an historian, LORD CLARENDON has defects which render it impossible for a person of fine taste to read him without a considerable mixture of pain and disgust; his periods are, literally, the periods of a mile; they fairly put the reader out of breath. In this impropriety there is not, perhaps, so remarkable an instance in any language. Besides this, the sense is almost incessantly suspended by the intervention of an unmerciful parenthesis, which takes up half or three fourths of the sentence: in short, it is sentence intervening within sentence, and somewhat like the Gordian knot, before it was bisected by the sword of Alexander. This ma-

terial defect renders the stile of LORD CLARENDON'S History too often perplexing, disagreeable, and obscure.

DR. BURNET

WAS a man of abilities, and of general learning. He had an uncommon knowledge of men and manners. His *History of the Reformation*, which has passed the revifal of several great men, is his capital work; that of his *own Times* is replete with falfehood and error. He had a lively imagination, and was an agreeable writer, notwithstanding the careleffnefs and inaccuracy of his stile. * "Upon the whole, the facility and loofenefs of his manner feem better adapted to the purpofes of a pamphlet, than to the precifion, impartiality, and dignity of *History*."

DAVID HUME.

FROM the time of Dr. BURNET we had no hiftorian in England, with fufficient qualifications to draw general attention, until Mr. HUME laid claim to the notice of the public (for I fhall fay nothing of RALPH, CARTE, GUTHRIE, &c.

* This paragraph is taken from DALRYMPLE.

&c. who, however, had considerable merit in their different manners). Mr. HUME commenced his capital work, which has done so much honor to himself and country, in the year 1752, and which he completed in 1761. He began with the House of *Stuart*. The publication of this part excited murmuring and resentment from all parties: when this subsided, it was forgotten, and suffered to fall into oblivion, at least for a time; for the House of *Tudor* coming out about two years afterwards, had much better success; and, as the author expresses it, "helped to buoy up its unfortunate brother." In the year 1761 he completed his History to the Revolution. This work, and the publication of his *Essays*, which were now much altered and enlarged, fixed the immortal seal upon his reputation; and his fame was spread over Europe, especially in France, as the first historian and philosopher of the age. As to his characteristic qualities as an historian, he is deservedly celebrated for his political and philosophical discernment; perhaps, in this particular province, it is not too much to say, that he has scarcely ever had an equal, certainly no superior. His History of England is a work calculated to form the legislator and the statesman. With much of the vivacity of *Voltaire*, he has infinitely more solidity. Rejecting trifling facts and slight occurrences, he always selects the most important, arranges them in logical order, often places them in new points of view, and adorns them with an elegant and noble style. In this last article there is one observation to be made; which is, that though his

his stile be, in general, full of dignity and very elegant, he has been reproached with neglecting, in some passages, the native genius of the English language; his very intimate acquaintance with France and French literature makes him sometimes fall, unwarily, into that idiom. I confess I have observed something of this kind myself; but it so seldom occurs, that it can hardly be called an imperfection. If Mr. HUME appears to have any fault, as an historian, it is, perhaps, that he wants a due portion of impressive fire, in the description of a battle; the coldness of his constitution and the philosophical turn of his spirit rendering him more fit for abstract or speculative matter, than for the rich and flowery fields of descriptive writing. But, admitting this deficiency, his History of England, considered upon the whole, its magnitude, plan, and execution, is, without doubt, one of the most perfect performances of the kind since the time of *Tacitus*, not even excepting *Guiccardini*, *Davila*, or *Machiavel*. The former of these three combined writers, in some respect the greatest historian since the dissolution of the Roman empire, is tediously, almost intolerably, prolix and circumstantial. The second, with a fund of sagacity and good sense, is too refined in his politics; always accounting for effects by causes, which, probably, never existed but in his own imagination. Could things always be traced to their primitive source, I fancy it would not unfrequently be found, that many of the most celebrated political revolutions have originated with a page, or a maid of honor, or some other agent, perhaps, still more insignificant.

The

The last-mentioned (*Machiavel*) is chiefly known as a politician, having written nothing professedly historical, that I know, but his *History of Florence*, of which I can say nothing, being only acquainted with it by name. But instead of this digression, which has but little to do, with the subject, I ought to have observed in its proper place, that Mr. HUME has drawn the characters of the different kings, at the end of their respective reigns, with a degree of candor, impartiality, and discernment, very difficult to preserve in writing the history of our own country. This part of his work appears to me very masterly, as it could only be effected by a most acute and brilliant understanding.

DR. ROBERTSON.

FEW works in any language have had a more rapid sale on publication, or have been more universally applauded, than Dr. ROBERTSON'S *History of Scotland*, or more properly, of *Mary Queen of Scots*. Many are of opinion, that this is the best model of the historic stile in the English language. He has all the accuracy and precision of method so conspicuous in Mr. HUME—all his judgment in the selection of facts, bringing the principal forward, and omitting those of less consequence, or throwing them into the back ground of the picture—he has also a considerable share of Mr. HUME'S discrimination of character; but he appears to me to fall far short of

of him in that philosophical penetration, that intuitive sagacity, which sounds all the shoals and deeps of our moral and political institutions, and often places facts in the newest, most natural, and most agreeable point of view. However, if Dr. ROBERTSON falls short of him in this respect, he makes some amends in point of style; which, for its classical purity, elegance, and dignity, is by many preferred to that of his celebrated countryman; and yet, even in this respect, Mr. HUME has one advantage: If Dr. ROBERTSON's style be more free and untainted with foreign idioms, that is to say, more pure and classical English; that of Mr. HUME is more easy, natural, and varied, consequently is less apt to fatigue the ear; and if, on the perusal of Mr. HUME, the refined auricular faculties of the English are sometimes offended with a French construction, perhaps the man of true taste will hardly be better pleased with the uniform staidness of Dr. ROBERTSON, which now and then approaches too nearly to the pompous or bombast. However, this observation is, in my opinion, chiefly to be applied to his latter works, that is, his *History of America*, &c. It certainly is a most admirable style for an oration in a public assembly; but the narrative, or historic style, requires more modesty and simplicity;—with a little more of this last quality Dr. ROBERTSON had attained perfection. I cannot avoid observing, that no historical work ever gave me so much pleasure as his *History of Charles the Fifth*; and this, in some measure, independent of the manner of its execution, which, however, is admirable. There, perhaps, is not so short a period,

period, either in ancient or modern history, so full of important events. The invention of the art of printing preceded the birth of *Charles the Fifth*—this facilitated the progress of letters and philosophy, and gradually paved the way to that reformation in religion which LUTHER and CALVIN finally effected. This reformation gave existence to the celebrated order of Jesuits, which was expressly instituted to combat against the reformed religion. About ten or twelve years before the birth of CHARLES, the new world was discovered by *Columbus*. This soon caused a considerable change in the political œconomy of Spain. A spirit of adventure seized all ranks; agriculture and domestic commerce were neglected; the slow and sure methods of making a fortune at home were relinquished for the golden prospect on the other side of the Atlantic. Spain became possessed of the treasures of Mexico and Peru; but in return she lost her own best riches, her native inhabitants, and her inspiring virtue. CHARLES THE FIFTH was born Earl of Flanders, and presently became King of Spain, master of the greatest part of Italy, of the New World; and, as if his power were not yet great enough, he was soon elected Emperor, which gave birth to that rivalry and jealousy between him and *Francis the First*, which continued, with a small interval or two, during their whole lives. This enormous dominion of CHARLES roused the jealousy of the other princes of Europe, the effect of which was a general league against him. This gave rise to the first idea of a balance of power, so much enforced by modern politicians. The

prodigious emigration to America, the number of men destroyed in the wars in Italy, France, Africa, and the other side of the Atlantic, the expulsion of a million of Moors, and the long wars in Flanders, during the following reign (*Philip the Second*) the total neglect of agriculture, the bigotted spirit of *Philip*, which encouraged the monastic institutions, finally drained Spain of her inhabitants. For these several reasons, and some others, which I may have overlooked, the reign of CHARLES the *Fifth* is the most important period of half a century that occurs in history; it is the period of a general revolution in Europe, both in arts, politics, and religion. It is sufficient praise to the historian, that the execution is, in every respect, answerable to the greatness of the subject. And, in my opinion, his characters of *Charles* and *Francis*—his description of the deplorable state of *Charles*, his fleet and army, in his second expedition to Africa—his retirement to the monastery of St. Just—his occupations there—his death—and, finally, his reflections upon governing his conduct, are among the most fascinating pieces of any modern historian.

DR. WATSON

HAS taken up the thread of history where Dr. ROBERTSON has left off, and has pursued it to the close of the reign of *Philip the Third*. His work proves him worthy of succeeding in the
 historie

historic career to the learned principal of the University of Edinburgh. He has not the elevation of style, or perhaps that high polish so conspicuous in the writings of Dr. ROBERTSON, but he retains all his clearness, method, and precision. It should be observed, that the latter part of the reign of *Philip the Third* was written by Dr. THOMPSON, Dr. WATSON not having lived to complete his work.

DR. GILBERT STUART.

HIS *History of Mary Queen of Scots*, was written in professed opposition to that of Dr. ROBERTSON. To attack an historian of such established fame was sufficient of itself to draw the public attention. His work was accordingly much read, and excited several diminutive literary squabbles, especially in Edinburgh, which were supported by the partisans of each with sufficient warmth, and some malignity. I believe Dr. STUART is generally allowed to have the better of the argument. I perused these rival works at the same time, in order to compare their merits, and could not avoid concluding in favor of Dr. STUART. He seems to me more clear, precise, and circumstantial; and, as far as I can judge, to have gone to the bottom of his subject:—yet, after all, there are certain inconsistencies in *Mary's* conduct very difficult to explain to her advantage. It is somewhat singular that a period of history, so nearly ap-

proaching our own times, should be so obscure and difficult to unravel. These two celebrated historians have pursued the same rout till the time of the King's sickness, and return from Dunbar to Edinburgh. The precise point where they separate, is the renewal of the Queen's affection for *Lord Darnley*. Dr. ROBERTSON supposing her to have been privy to the conspiracy against his life, and that her apparent affection and tenderness was a piece of artifice and hypocrisy, to cover her sanguinary intentions, and impose upon the world. Dr. STUART thought that a plan had been previously concerted by *Murray*, and his party, in order to subvert the constitution, and to raise themselves upon its ruin. She refused to consent to a divorce, much less could she be supposed to consent to his destruction. The arguments of Dr. STUART, on this head, appear, at least, very natural.—He concludes accordingly with a persuasion, that her affection was sincere, and that *Murray* and *Bothwell*, believing the same, and alarmed for their own safety, had entered into a plot to murder the king, in order to prevent the consequences of his resentment. It is no wonder that historians should differ so materially in their accounts of the reign of *Mary*, as it is obvious that the conduct of their narration, as well as the conclusions and inferences to be deduced from it, must be entirely regulated by the opinion they adopted with respect to the above-mentioned transactions. Mr. HUME takes a kind of middle course, he often blames, and often excuses her. Dr. STUART had his subject at heart, and appears to have investigated it more thoroughly than any of his predecessors.

predecessors. As to the style of his history, it impresses me as not equal to that of Dr. ROBERTSON, which is more calm, more harmonious, and more highly finished. Dr. ROBERTSON meets the eye as a man of an excellent understanding and good taste, highly refined and polished by study and application; but, perhaps, he does not possess much of that divine emanation which is denominated *genius*. Dr. STUART, on the contrary, was unquestionably a man of genius, and to this he added considerable learning; but if he is superior in genius to the learned principal, he is, perhaps, inferior in taste, or probably less anxious to correct and finish his writings. Be this as it may, the style of Dr. ROBERTSON seems to proceed from incessant labor; that of Dr. STUART from the native vigor of the soul. His description of *Mary's* departure from France—*Melville's* interview with *Queen Elizabeth*—Character of *Queen Elizabeth*—Character of *Mary*—Reflections on her conduct, and that of *Bothwell*, during her detention in the castle of Dunbar—Character of *Murray*—Execution of *Mary*; and his meditations on the conduct of *Elizabeth* towards her, in the concluding page of his history, are, in my opinion, among the finest pieces of prose writing that ever came under my consideration.

I shall now conclude my animadversions, with this remark, that on comparing the merits of our three great modern historians, it occurs to me, that Mr. HUME writes more *like a philosopher*—Dr. ROBERTSON more *like a scholar*—and Mr. GIBBON more *like an accomplished gentleman*.

MRS.

MRS. SHERIDAN.

Bid the *Syrian Nard* be brought,
 Bid the hidden Wine be sought;
 Let the Rose, sweet, modest flower,
 The brilliant Daughter of an Hour,
 Flourish on thy snow-white brow—
 Enjoy the very, very now!
 While the warm hand of Life is in,
 While yet the fatal Sisters spin.

HOR. Ode III.

THE wonder of a philosopher cannot be excited more powerfully on any occasion, than when he contemplates the apathy with which society in general survey the frailty of human existence;—though the cold hand of Death is incessantly thinning the busy circles of Friendship, yet, misled either by our hope or our ignorance, we consider the events as partial administrations of Destruction, and plunge and flounder on, unheeding, in the morasses of error, till we are arrested in the toilsome progress, engulfed, and no more!

The charming and meritorious subject of these remarks, is the only female relative left of an extraordinary family, who seemed to possess

selfs peculiar endowments, and an uncommon portion of innate merit; but such is the frail tenure of our being, that they had scarcely been ripened by maturity before they fell sacrifices to disease—they were rare flowers prematurely mown while they blossomed, and torn from our senses while their graces and their perfume conveyed full delight. Mrs. Sheridan has been permitted to approach nearer to perfection than her lamented sisters; the protraction of her valuable life has given her a more enlarged opportunity to polish the mind, and exalt the soul.

It is doubted if Hymen ever looked more triumphantly than when Mr. Sheridan led this lady to his altar—*Love* and *Reason* hurried to the fane to be present at the celebration, while the *Muses* sung the *Epithalamium*.—It formed an epoch dear to the interests of Parnassus—it was an eternal covenant between *Genius* and *Beauty*.*

That

* Mr. Sheridan meeting Miss Linley (now Mrs. Sheridan) at the entrance of a Grotto, in the vicinity of Bath, took the liberty of offering her some advice; with which, apprehending that she was displeased, he left the following lines in the Grotto next day:

UNCOUTH is this moss-cover'd grotto of stone,
And damp is the shade of this dew-dripping tree;
Yet I this rude grotto with rapture will own,
And, Willow, thy damps are refreshing to me.

For this is the grotto where Delia reclin'd,
As late I in secret her confidence sought;
And this is the tree kept her safe from the wind,
As blushing she heard the grave lesson I taught.

Then

That period which involved Mr. Sheridan in a war of politics, and operated like an evil-fraught *talisman* upon the fine powers of his creative fancy, was the same at which this excellent woman resolved to withhold her matchless melody from the public ear. I apprehend, that, in both instances, the force of improper prejudice conquered the leading desires of the heart

Then tell me, thou Grotto of moss-cover'd stone,
And tell me, thou Willow, with leaves dripping dew,
Did Delia seem vex'd when Horatio was gone?
And did she confess her resentment to you?

Ah! why do you shake your green leaves to the gale,
Green Willow! and seem thus to sigh to my woe?
And was she, indeed, then displeas'd at my tale;
And did she, Green Willow, tell you it was so?

Methinks, now each bough as you're waving, it tries
To whisper a cause for the sorrow I feel;
To hint how she frown'd when I dar'd to advise,
And sigh'd when she saw that I did it with zeal.

True, true, silly leaves; so she did, I allow:
She frown'd—but no rage in her looks could I see;
She frown'd—but reflection had clouded her brow;
She sigh'd—but perhaps 'twas in pity to me.

Then wave thy leaves brisker, thou Willow of woe!
I tell thee, no rage in her looks could I see:
I cannot—I will not—believe it was so:
She was not—she could not be angry with me:

For well did she know, that my *heart* meant no wrong:
It sunk at the thought of but giving her pain;
But trusted its task to a flattering tongue,
Which err'd from the *feelings* it could not *explain*.

Yet, Oh! if indeed I've offended the maid,
If Delia my humble monition refuse,
Sweet Willow! the next time she visits thy shade,
Fan gently her bosom and plead my excuse.

And

heart in either party, who might fear that the introduction of professional accomplishments (however great or prized) in the domestic retirements of what is ludicrously termed the *high world*, would not be completely acceptable, while the public exercise of such alluring talents was accompanied by a liberal remuneration.

To particularize my own sensations, I never beheld Mrs. Sheridan without emotions of respect approaching to sublimity—I was fascinated by an object unequalled;—the force of local rank was diminished in her presence, and she tacitly enforced adoration, when my reflection brooded upon her astonishing attainments, or her envied symmetry.

Without knowing any cause to justify its origin, there has been, evidently, for several years, an interesting pensiveness, an undescribable languor, in the eyes of Mrs. Sheridan, which

And thou, Stony Grot, in thy arch may'st preserve
Two lingering drops of the night-fallen dew;
And let them fall just at her feet, and they'll serve
As tears of my sorrow intrusted to you.

Or, lest they unheeded should fall at her feet,
Let them fall on her bosom of snow, and I'll swear
The next time I visit thy moss-cover'd seat,
I'll pay thee each drop with a *genuine* tear.

So may'st thou, Green Willow, for ages, thus tofs
Thy branches so lank o'er the slow-winding stream;
And thou, Stony Grotto, retain all thy moss,
While yet there's a poet to make thee his theme.

Nay, more; may my Delia still give you her charms,
Each evening, and sometimes the whole evening long;
Then, Grotto, be proud to support her white arms;
Then, Willow, wave all thy green tops to her song.

which seemed to look with majestic sorrow upon the frivolities of an elbowing multitude—her vision seemed clouded by the pressure of an overcharged understanding—they were like two gems, dimmed by the breath of Melancholy!

Mrs. SHERIDAN was persuaded to sit to Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS, as a model for the Virgin Mary, when he undertook to design a Holy Family: and I will affirm, that from the day of *Apelles* to the existing moment, there never was a face more suitable to the grand idea, or more eminently fraught with the lineaments of sober loveliness—Nature seems to have copied her visage from the best Grecian model;—she formed an aggregate of more beautiful proportions than I ever contemplated (were the Lady not married, I should have said adored) before.

Were it not for the obligations which the capricious God of Love imposes upon our faculties, I know not how we could find a refuge for the imagination, and a reward for the senses, between our nativity and the tomb!

It was an elegant and well-arranged compliment which she received from Lady LUCAN, when Mr. SHERIDAN had concluded his elaborate Philippic against Mr. Hastings; the unexampled merit of which (I cannot say much in favor of its truth) certainly lost him the friendship of EDMUND BURKE!—the neat declaration run thus—“You should consider yourself as a very happy woman, Mrs. SHERIDAN, to please that man who can please every body.”

We must lament that the solitudes of ambition

bitjon are too prevalent for the counterbalancing influence of philosophy—the mind gnaws and feeds upon the subordinate frame, and our wishes become more complicated and insatiate, in proportion as the faculty of thinking is enfeebled by Malady or Time.

The late Sir Watkin Williams Wynn made it a particular request, that Mrs. Sheridan should sing to him in his dying moments; to which she kindly acceded; but as she warbled the Hymn sacred to Friendship, the tears of sensibility wetted her pale cheek.

This inestimable Lady is now at Bristol Hot Wells, for the recovery of her health, which has evidently been too long declining—that *Hygeia*, or any other kind spirit who governs the tepid spring, may eagerly rebrace her system, and give her back with pride to society, is the ardent language of every supplicant, in whose bosom human Excellence has an advocate, or seraphic Beauty an idolater.

THE DUKE OF Q——.

Not the rough whirlwind that deforms
Adria's black Gulf, and vexes it with storms,
The stubborn virtue of his soul can move—
Nor the red arm of angry *Jove*!

HOR. Ode III.

TRADITION informs us, that the antient Egyptians were accustomed to sit in judgment upon the merits and demerits of their Kings, after they had

“ Shaken off this mortal coil ;”

and it was to this posthumous tribunal that they, in a great measure, attributed the almost uniform practice of worthiness among their Monarchs, who were less fearful of the reflecting pangs annexed to atrociousness, while living, than of the consequent obloquy when their powers of thinking were no more. How far similar considerations influence modern mightiness I cannot aver; but I will be bold enough to assert, that if the love of Fame is not equally prevailing now with the love of Life, human nature has lost a latent spring

spring of action, which regulated her movements according to the prejudices of Truth.

It has been asserted by Malignity, that his Grace of Q—— is young enough to be eccentric, but not old enough to be wise—that he has gaiety without cheerfulness, and splendor without dignity—that he is a *Polypheme* in *Arcadia*, a *Giant* in *Lilliput*, and a *Legislator* in *Utopia*.

Yet I, whose sentiments are recognized by Charity, have some very serious apprehensions, that there are persons among our Nobility who think it is possible to be *great* without being *good*; and, in the busy career of mortal folly, vainly imagine that the *man* may act independent of the *mind*, and the heathenish maxims of EPICURUS be analogized to the sensual necessities of a Christian world!—but to those who think thus, I will venture to predict, that the fallacy of their prepossessions must eventually destroy their peace.

Cupid, irresistible *Cupid*! who will presume to say they will encase their soul with an armour, equally tempered to the opposition of thy darts?—Can it be found in the magazines of war, or the recesses of the Cyclops?—No; then why should the *white HEAD* of the *House* of D—— be arraigned for sensations which are inseparably interwoven in our system? Yet the gallantries of his youth were chastened by the most refined delicacy;—he sought the bowers of Bliss, yet sought them tremulous and abashed!—he felt the impulse, and deprecated the consequences.—To be brief, his senses held a secondary dominion over his nature, till he was
thirty—

thirty, then his discretion became wrathful, and the more boisterous Passions shrunk from mental investigation.

To bow obedient to the duties imposed by sacred institutions, was held, in all civilized states, as necessary to our salvation; but the philosophic impieties of the moderns will not unfrequently urge them to dispute the obligation, on the score of indispensableness; but of this number his Grace of Q—— luckily is not;—for I verily believe, that had he been born and matured among the Hebrews, he would have patiently submitted to the agonizing progress of circumcision; and when, in future, he might survey the dilapidation, he would not sigh for what was irrecoverable, or curse the Priest, whose official knife had shorn him of his personal honors.

Oh, excellent man! who can thus subdue his animal propensities—Oh, happy nation! that can boast of an ornament so perfect!—in his heart shall the cardinal virtues find a home; under his ample wing shall the oppressed retire, and forget all temporal inquietude!

There are murmurers who will affect to condemn his GRACE, merely because he has been seen, on some *extraordinary* occasion, to direct his discourse to a gaudy Harlot—and from thence would scandalously infer, that he indulges appetites incompatible with a Peer of the Realm, and a debilitated Senator. To such malevolent insinuation it would be scarcely incumbent to reply, if a total silence on that theme, in his *Apologist*, might not be misconstrued into an admission of the weakness. The
fact

fact is, that his GRACE does now and then whisper in the ears of feminine pollution; but ill beshrew him who supposes the communication of idea, is meant to effect any other purposes but wholesome admonition and fraternal love.

That this venerable pillar of aristocratic grandeur is an able disputant, no one will deny, but especially those who have heard him declaim against the introduction of the statue of *Priapus* in our Gardens, and *Venus de Medicis* in our Halls; he eschews every thing that borders upon lasciviousness—and, when a Lord of the Bedchamber, he never spoke to Miss B——LL without blushing, lest the wanderings of his eye, upon the fair bosom of the *Maid of Honor*, might be mistaken for indecent desire!—He will kindly and innocently sit, for successive evenings, encircled with inexperienced virginity—point out the rocks of social perdition—reduce their improper dread of blythesome juvenility, and argue geometrically upon the *fitness* of *things* in general.

As his Grace has declined into the vale of years, and is hastening with rapidity

“To that bourn from whence no Traveller returns,”

he spends a proportionate part of his time in prayer, well knowing that the best are bad enough; and, not entirely forgetting the chastisements of Israel, he has now turned his back upon the vanities of existence, and fondly expects, through the medium of *faith* and *good works*, to exchange an Earthly Coronet for a Celestial Diadem.

The following EPITAPH is to be inscribed
upon

upon his Tomb, in which his valuable remains are to be deposited (according to the influence of a *Druidical Dream*) with his head towards the East:

EPITAPH.

6 MA 50

HERE LIE

In the joyful hope of a blessed Resurrection,
The disseminated Particles of Dust,
That once compos'd the elegant Anatomy,
Of the most Noble and Puissant
WILLIAM DUKE OF Q——.

This excellent and amiable PEER
Lost his *precious Life* by overmatching Himself
Against DEATH,
Mounted on his white Stallion,
With whom he ran a fatiguing Race,
That continued for a succession of years;
But carrying more *weight* than his Antagonist,
He was beat hollow.

Tho' he was denied by PROVIDENCE
To look on both sides of the Gutter at once,
Yet he was in Possession of
GREAT NATURAL PARTS!

Poor Q——,
He lived to prove the verity of the old Roman axiom—
Heu! quam difficile est gloria custodire.

A NEW EDITION.

A
CALM EXAMINATION
INTO THE
CAUSES
OF
THE PRESENT ALARM
IN
THE EMPIRE.

BY
A FRIEND TO HIS KING AND COUNTRY.

Ennemi de tout ce qui s'appelle parti, faction, cabale, je n'ai
jamais rien attendu de bon des gens qui en font.

ROUSSEAU: Confessions; Tome iv. Liv. 12.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. BEW, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

M,DCC,XCIII.

NEW EDITION

CALM EXAMINATION

OF THE

CALM EXAMINATION

THE PRESENT ALARM

THE EMPIRE

OF THE

THE



DEDICATION.

TO THE
MERCHANTS, BANKERS, and TRADERS,

Assembled at Merchant-Tailors'-Hall,

FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE
PUBLIC PEACE.

GENTLEMEN,

FROM the conviction that ye have acted a necessary and honorable part in Society, by promulgating your well digested resolutions, I have taken the freedom of inscribing to you the following imperfect Essay, in which I have attempted to develope the material causes of popular discontent.—

*I am a professed enemy to that levelling doctrine, which would tend to the destruction of all orders of men; were it prevalent all the graces of politeness would be immersed in the
irruptions*

irruptions of barbarism.—I am convinced that subordination is as indispensably necessary for the preservation of the political as the animal world:—they must have equally an impellant or governor, to enforce obedience and infuse health.—Were all men equally important, there would be none responsible to the exigencies of Society; and, was the ether equally diffused, and in equilibrio throughout the universe, there would be no light or heat; but to make it produce these great ends, the Omnipotent created the Sun, that immense ocean and fountain of elementary fire, which may be considered as the the general focus of Nature:—the ether being concentrated in the Luminary, makes it the centre of attraction, and gives it the power of communicating light and heat to the whole planetary system!—

I am far from being confident that even a limited Monarchy, is a perfect form of government, yet on comparison, I think it more perfect than any other, and from that impression of thought I make it my choice:—we are all sophisticated, and must have charity for each other,

other,—could we exist to eternity, each link of the chain would retain its peculiar attribute. Kings would be ambitious, the Nobility presuming and the Million tumultuous!—

Though I have written these pages with the best imaginable motives, and I trust with becoming moderation, yet I am aware it contains various passages, that may not be wholly palatable to many, who presume to arrange themselves as the friends of their King and Country; but as such cannot contemplate the beauties of Truth without pain, I am totally indifferent as to their praise or their censure.—I have not composed it with the mean ambition of pleasing any particular individual, but with the faint hope of rendering good to all; and, I believe the production to be such, as will not offend any honest man, either in the Administration or the Opposition. I am,

GENTLEMEN,

With much respect,

Your Friend and Admirer,

The AUTHOR.

January 1st, 1793.

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A
CALM EXAMINATION
INTO THE
CAUSES OF THE PRESENT ALARM
IN
THE EMPIRE.

SECTION I.
OF THE GENERAL SUBJECT.

CONCEIVING it to be the duty of every good Citizen, in times so alarming and perilous as the present, to reduce and soften the acrimony of public contention, and cool the judgment for the purposes of mature deliberation, I shall make no apology for obtruding this inconsiderable essay upon the world, as it was written with the

A

feeble

feeble hope of stemming in a small degree, that torrent of rancour between parties, which, if unopposed, threatens to overwhelm in its progress, all distinctions dear to Liberty and Honor; and it is to be apprehended, may finally tend to introduce resentful despotism, or ungovernable licentiousness, both equally pernicious to the beauty of order, the interests of morality, and the maintenance of propriety.

There has been an unprofitable system of subtlety, maintained in the various resolutions relative to the present national alarm, which I suspect to have originated in the Minister, or his official adherents; this system is manifested in their involving the regard of the People for their Sovereign, with an overweening regard for themselves as Officers of the Crown; this is a species of cunning which may be advantageous to them, but cannot to his Majesty, inasmuch as it tends to mingle the antipathies of the friends of a limited Monarchy,

Monarchy, with the outrageousness of republicanism, and thereby adds numbers of collateral friends to an opposing host, already too numerous and redoubted!—

There is a FATAL MAN whom I consider as the *Parent* and the *Accoucheur* of the present disastrous warfare of public opinion—he has been employed for the last thirty years of his life, in an incessant endeavour, to make the people doubt the advantages of their situation—his expositions of the corruptibility of our parliaments have been as unceasing, as they have been true—he never entered the Senate, but he roared like the North Wind, against the influence and profligacy of pensioners, yet he condescended to become a pensioner himself!—he has circulated his dogmas with a marked diligence, and gained innumerable proselytes, yet is he now among the foremost, to *hurl* the thunderbolt of vengeance upon the very tribes his sentiments have led astray!—he has disseminated the elements

of a new political faith, yet would crucify his own disciple!—his name is obnoxious to Reason and Philosophy—his tergiversation renders him ridiculous, and his curses pitiable—he often means well, but his insatiate fury prevents the achievement of what he means!—he mutters a continued exorcism against the influence of the Sorcerer!—he is a non-descript Politician, of no gender, horde, or persuasion!—he affects contempt for opposition, while his anatomy is tremulous with dread!—versatility in a coxcomb may excite regret, and be forgiven; but versatility in a legislator cannot—he believes himself the anointed *Paraclete* of the Heroes of Romance, and while he bellows their *requiem*, let not Derision urine at their tomb!—his antipathies are so unconquerable, and his maledictions so furious, that should he be proscribed here, I can point out no ultramarine office to assimilate with his inexorable nature, but the presidency of an *Iberian* inquisition—to be brief, I think his
friendship

friendship unwholesome, as he attaches a sort of obloquy to embryo-measures, before their consequences can be made known by operation !—

“ The foul Fiend hath laid knives under his pillow,
 “ And halters in his pew ; set rats’-bane by his porridge,
 “ And made him proud of heart, to course his own shadow
 “ For a Traitor !—bless his five wits.”

It is not by the fulminating denunciations of men like him, that the public peace can be preserved, or the community satisfied—oh ! I commiserate him from my heart’s core, for he was certainly created to answer nobler purposes—he was born to illumine, but has only existed to confound ;—if his necessities impel him to be false to himself, I am sorry for it, but no individual should suffer their inconvenience to destroy their morality !—he has much learning, and a strong ungovernable imagination, yet his erudition has not dispossessed his mind of the tales of the nurse, and the impositions of the priest—I will allow him a small portion of good sense, but no charity !—
 like

like a drowning reptile, in a transparent vase, he scuds and plunges round the vessel on all sides for relief, but all sides deny him adhesion!—If, in this ebullition of contempt, it may be thought I am excruciatingly severe, it should be recollected, that whenever he indulges his favourite passion of *Resentment*, he is rude and malevolent in the extreme!—the images of his brain are diabolic, and his language antichristian!—when I reprove such men, I forget that pity is a human attribute*.

There are two directions, into which the policy of a component government, like ours, will always run—the *politics of things*, and the *politics of men*—in the politics of things, are involved the prosperity

* This diseased Babler, like JOHN WILKES, is considered by many, as possessing a capacity far more brilliant than it really is; and, like him, he should become pacific, innoxious, and moulder into ruin, ere he is wholly repuerelized—when the *oblique* CHAMBERLAIN is questioned now about Politics, he shrewdly replies, “I am an old Volcano, and burned out.”

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of the Sovereign and the People; in the politics of men, are involved the separated and peculiar interests of the Servants of the Crown, and the disaffected or seditious members of the community—the impulse appertaining to the first, directs its votaries to preserve the beauty of the whole, for the good of the whole:—the impulse appertaining to the second, is not so immediate, or pleasurable in its effects, that inspirits its votaries to travel through every subtle recess of the understanding, to find an indefinite excuse for the adoption of specious measures, that may wear a goodly outside, but be rotten at the core: what is advantageous and honorable to the King, is not always advantageous and honorable to his Ministers, and what is advantageous and honorable to the People, is seldom considered in that light, by the concealed enemies to the equivalence of the Constitution!—the King and the People, on all alarms similar to these which now agitate the empire, unluckily are placed between
two

two fires; the *administration*, who are too inflexibly ruinous to renunciate official splendor for the embraces of pure Civism; and the *rebellious* and the *inflammatory*, who would rather pull down the building altogether, than that even a column should remain, whose order of architecture is not agreeable to their distempered ideas.

The bond of amity, that was sincerely executed between the King and the People, must be preserved unfulled, to produce such a necessary portion of felicity, as may overbalance our partial inquietudes; for general felicity can never be upheld, while the passions have a power to subjugate the judgment—yet the analogy between reason and content is more immediate than speculative men imagine—dissention will happen in the best regulated Governments, but the prevailing part of the nation will constantly veer towards the points of reciprocal justice.

SECTION

SECTION II.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

THE necessity of a reform in the present state of popular representation in this country, has long been a theme of public debate, and private conversation—every good man in the country subscribes to its necessity, and every eloquent man in public life has at one time or another urged its advantages. Foremost of the good and of the eloquent stood the late Sir **GEORGE SAVILLE**.

The great number of persons interested in the continuance of official misdemeanours in this country, will ever make the work of amendment, a work of slow progress:—when private interest opposes public virtue, the struggle is, in too many instances, fatal to the general interests
of

of society—the glaring defection from their word, which various of the most considerable of our political leaders have exhibited, seemingly without a blush, in the broad eye of day, has so worked to the limitation of popular belief, that the most ardent professions of the most furious patriot, receive now but the proper accompaniment of a public smile—the DUKE of RICHMOND and * Mr. PITT will find it difficult to qualify their incoherent resistance to a parliamentary reform, and their improper vindictiveness towards those

* Mr. PITT, the present First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and all that, was a few years ago an active mover of this popular business in the House of Commons, he several times brought it forward with much apparent zeal. But, during the last session of parliament, judging it no longer necessary to repeat this farce, he boldly threw off the mask, and avowed his utter aversion to any alteration whatever—yet I have no doubt but Mr. PITT would affect to be much offended, if I told him personally, he was not a man of honor—*sed tempora mutantur!*

who

who labour to promote a consequence, of which they were very evidently the primary cause; but it appears that the same law-givers are permitted to think differently of the good of the state, when members of the Cabinet, than they *uniformly* did, when simple members of the legislative body!

“ There are more things between heaven and earth

“ Than are dreamt of in our Philosophy, Horatio.”

But the same arguments that will apply to individuals in a state of senatorial probation, will not be applicable to those who are in a state of confirmed power!—this should not be a truth, but as it is uncontested, it cannot be recorded too generally.

The DUKE of RICHMOND, in a letter to COLONEL SHARMAN, Chairman to the Committee of Irish Volunteers, has thus openly and enegetically committed himself upon this very important subject, “ the
“ truth is, that the people have been so
“ often deceived, that they will scarcely
“ trust

“ trust any set of men : and nothing but
 “ self-evident conviction, that a measure
 “ tends effectually to the recovery of their
 “ rights, can, or indeed ought, to interest
 “ them in its favor—IT IS FROM THE
 “ PEOPLE AT LARGE THAT I EXPECT ANY
 “ GOOD—I wish to see the executive part
 “ of government revert to where the con-
 “ stitution has originally placed it, in the
 “ hands of the Crown, to be carried on by
 “ its ministers ; those ministers under the
 “ controul of Parliament, and Parliament
 “ under the controul of the People.—If I
 “ should be asked, whether it would not
 “ be equitable or expedient that boroughs
 “ now in the possession of individuals,
 “ should be purchased by the nation ? I
 “ think, that although no man can have a
 “ strict claim in equity to be refunded the
 “ loss of what neither buyer nor seller had
 “ a right to barter, yet it will be wise to
 “ purchase the good will, or at least to
 “ soften the resistance of the present
 “ powerful possessors of boroughs by a
 “ most

“ most ample compensation, the liberties
 “ of a nation cannot be bought too dear :
 “ yet the whole cost of these boroughs
 “ would not amount to the profits of one
 “ jobbing contract.”—

The concomitant horrors naturally and
 inevitably resulting from any innovation
 upon the rooted manners of a state, where
 a vast number of the community are hostile
 to the measure, should have its due weight
 with every person, when he engages in an
 enterprise so fraught with variety of woe.
 The poorer classes of society should know,
 that, during the suspension of government,
 all manufacturing must cease, and the ar-
 tisan and the labourer be deprived of the
 means of supporting either themselves or
 their families by honorable and proper in-
 dustry ; the violent irruptions of the poli-
 tical zealot, are seldom regulated by either
 temperance or discretion. *Montesquieu* ob-
 serves, “ That the abolition of hereditary
 “ titles, clerical dignity, and the privilege
 “ of towns, will either make a government
 “ very

“very despotic, or very popular :”—by which he means to declare, that when the sword of insurrection is unsheathed, there is no middle path left for the choice of the subject, who, if successful, may be happy, but, if unsuccessful, more miserable than ever.—DAVID HUME, the most philosophic and dispassionate historian that ever wrote in this country, asserts, “That the advantages which might be expected to arise from a revolution, would not be adequate to the expenditure of the public treasure, and the effusion of blood that must accompany so awful an event.” Yet I will not have any conclusion deduced from the promulgation of these ideas, tending to represent, that I do not believe a reformation necessary; my only endeavour is to persuade all men to make it as gentle, and have it as reconcileable to the jarring interests of all parties as possible.

That revolution which happened in France, in the first instance, did them honor,

honor, but such a revolution here is not necessary—the constitution under which we live is radically good, but scandalously abused—the constitution under which they lived was radically bad,—their Kings were invested with the powers of tyranny—our Kings are denied the ability to enact a systematic wrong, by two counteracting estates of nearly equal importance with themselves!—Britons were not formed to be Republicans, the genius of our country will not assimilate with their manners, or recognise republican institutes; the experiment has already failed, and ever will until the subjects of the empire are wholly regenerated.

Could History embrace all the miseries of society, the most ingenious and the most pious would find it difficult to reconcile the ways of God to men—the good suffer, and the unworthy prevail, perhaps for the best final purposes; the greater portion of our regret and unhappiness proceeds from
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the indulgence of a desire to become superior to our neighbour, though that superiority, when attained, involves in itself incurable maladies !—for my part I envy not those who are impelled by such an unprofitable species of ambition, as my joys have been materially dependent upon the narrowing of my responsibility—I will chearfully assist with my paddle to row the boat of Philanthropy adown the stream of Time, but I have no wish to sit at the helm.—That we are, we know, but why we are, is a question which we cannot readily answer with precision !—but our prescribed duties should regulate our free agency, and it is our common interest to become obedient in every instance, as subjects, where the judgment is tormented with a doubt as to the propriety of resistance.—I have ever thought human nature so organized and constituted, that to be held in order as a conjoint body, it was necessary to be at times severe ; yet that severity must be proportioned to the tolerating,

rating, or intolerating spirit of the governed animal ;—the good or ill of the PRINCIPAL is dependent upon the policy of this administration :—he may incessantly castigate the *ass*, but he should occasionally sooth the *lion*.

Surely it cannot be urged, that the antiquity of an error operates to make it irremediable ; if it does, there is a termination of all argument, and Desperation must be left to effect what Conviction cannot.

Every individual deeply acquainted with the prevailing attributes of human nature, must know, that the work of amendment proceeds but lazily, and especially in those instances where the immediate interest of the reformer will suffer by the reform,—we are inclined to embrace even Virtue reluctantly, when the intimacy it may be imagined will be detrimental to our fortunes. Could I be induced to believe that it was the *serious* determination of Govern-

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ment,

ment, to begin an investigation into the origin and abuse of offices held under the Crown, and to regulate the representation of the people in Parliament, upon the basis of necessary equalization and reciprocity, when the supposed popular tumult had subsided, and that it was resisted at the present moment, merely because that Government should not be apparently driven into measures, however salutary, by force,

“ I would applaud them to the very echo

“ That should applaud again.”

As such conduct on their part, would bear the complexion of becoming magnanimity, and ought to be, and would be approved by every thinking man, as the legislative power must not be commanded by a heterogeneous multitude, many of whom are actuated by the most dangerous and base motives; but if they only seize this admissible excuse, during the affirmed existence of civil commotion, to cool the zeal of the patriot, and inveigle the moderate

derate to rally round their banners, without meaning eventually to be active, vigilant, and effectual, in this primary and indispensable duty, they will hazard the dignity and well-being of their Sovereign—the tranquillity and honor of the realm, and must expect to be stunned with the execrations of an indignant people—All who can see, know, that the ramifications of the tree of legislation are rotten, foul, and unproductive; it is their department peculiarly to apply a remedy to the imminent peril—to cut away the baneful exuberances without regret—it would be a toil worthy of the deceased Chatham—it is a consequence demanded and expected by every good subject; let them not shrink when they wield the knife, as the amputation will give health to the state.

SECTION III.

ASSOCIATIONS FOR THE PRESERVATION OF
PROPERTY.

THE various associations that have been formed in the capital, and the different counties of England, against *Republicans* and *Levellers*, have been productive of much animosity, and I fear will eventually much mischief—the idea of any Government receiving a collateral portion of energy from the influence of CLUBS, is to me truly distressing, inasmuch as it tends to declare, that Government wants some extraneous support, and cannot rely firmly on its own powers.

I have read many of their resolutions, with much astonishment and regret; astonished that they have declared themselves
satisfied,

satisfied, with what in truth they are not ! And my regret arose from their *ruinously* mingling in their denunciations, the *Republican* who aimed to destroy the orders of the state, and the true Briton who rationally required a correction of its manifest abuses.—I trust the KING will never completely feel the impolicy and uncharitableness of this *jobbing* edict, which is equally insolent, dishonest, unwise, and unjust.

If the people had exhibited any serious disposition to be tumultuous, Associations for the preservation of property should be enforced and commended ; as Hope could not present to my imagination, any prospect or event in future, sufficiently brilliant or illusive, to seduce me into a consent, that its realization should be accomplished by the influence of a MOB !—But as the great body of the nation have shown no unwarrantable desires, to justify such unguarded language, such advertisements (according to the late determinations in

our Courts of Judicature) are so many libels upon the people, whose patience cannot be doubted, or loyalty questioned !

I have been induced from motives of singular curiosity, to investigate the character and situation of that gentleman who presided at the first meeting of this description; and I find that but a very few years ago, he was generously taken from uncomfartableness and obscurity by Lord HAWKESBURY, who introduced him to the Minister, as a man of merit, (and the introduction of Phœbus could not have been more effectual). Mr. PITT immediately indorsed the draught upon Fortune, and he now possesses an annual income from Government of two thousand pounds:—this is the gentleman who has been praised in both Houses of Parliament, for his *noble* and *disinterested* conduct in thus stepping forward at such a calamitous æra; and I have no doubt but the persons who thus praised him, were equally *noble* and *disinterested*.

terested.—This gentleman has truly declared that *HE is satisfied* with the present state of the nation, and that every other person *ought* to be satisfied also;—that he is satisfied, I have no doubt, but that every other person is, or ought to be, deserves some consideration.

Yet, let it not be understood by these indignant emotions, that I am a friend to those, who labour, in the most distant degree, to introduce anarchy—that man who would wish to see the government of this kingdom, in the hands of a multitude for even twenty-four hours, is a villain!—I adopt the leading sentiments of the meeting at *Merchant Taylors' Hall*, viz. “That the Constitution has the power to “correct itself.”—I do not think it expedient, that the lower orders of the community, should become systematic Politicians: they may argue from their necessities, but they cannot from their judgment. If the science is abstruse and complicated, it were better

better not to know any thing, than know but a little. The God of Nature has wisely denied us the knowledge of the mechanism which forms the flesh, and the fruits that we eat; and of that mechanism likewise, which extracts the juices from them for our nourishment; yet are we most happy in being thus ignorant, as the knowledge might distract, but could not amend us.

SECTION IV.

RELIGION.

IT is zealously maintained as true, that civil government borrows strength from the ecclesiastical, and that artificial laws receive a support from artificial revelations. This
is,

is, in my opinion, forming, or at least, recommending, an inseparable confederacy between Politics and Religion, which may be favorable to the particular designs of the Premier and the Prelate, but is not admissible on the basis of actual necessity. This subtle intertwisting of the interests of the divine mission, with the interests of the temporal potentate, has been the cause of half that carnage, which has desolated the retreats of human-kind—it has given birth to the most rancorous spirit of persecution, and half-extinguished the lamp of mercy—Hierarchy, like hereditary Pride, wraps herself up in her sable cloak, and frowns contemptuous on the patient Virtues!—But I shall turn from such prejudices with scorn, and leave them to those, who are in the habit of thinking nothing can be good that is not sacerdotal—who, from a miserable impulse of false piety, would tear the bread from the orphan, and purloin the widow's cruse, to add their mite to the monastic

nastic treasury !—who solicit favor with the Deity, through the medium of craft and imposition——Let such, with Mr. BURKE, wash the sandals of the Dominican with the salt tears of Lamentation,—but that will not I ; yet I entertain no malignancy towards the agents of such restricted policy, if such a misapplication of thought and property, can be denominated policy.—I have no desire to insult the priest, though I may be inclined occasionally to blot his ritual.

It has been an absurd custom, to mix the impiety of materialists with the politics of the day :—this dread of an antichristian innovation, is to be numbered among those apprehensions, which enfeebles the base of all descriptions, when the imagination keeps pace with the conscience, and conjures up demons, which can be only horrible to the hypocrite and the depredator—their ambition for martyrdom is no more. Our ortolan-fed FATHERS IN GOD, fear
that

that their sacredness may pass the ordeal of a keen investigation, and their usefulness doubted, as but few can produce certificates that they have imitated the self-denial of their Redeemer:—to modify the luxuries of an Archbishop, would well deserve eternal perdition——But the alarm-bell was never rung in a nation, where the Monk was not foremost in the ranks, to excite mischief by his anathema; and when he had put his foot upon the young vegetations of Virtue, gravely to implore a blessing from Heaven on the enormity! If the members of the Church wish to have a due influence on society, they must *correct themselves*; no Prelate should have an annual income of more than one thousand pounds, and such an animal as a *Pluralist*, should not be known in the realm: upon no principle of justice or liberality, can such regulations in the hierarchy be resisted.

PERCIVAL STOCKDALE, has thrust a keen and agonizing thorn, deep into the sides of
the

the SPIRITUAL LORD OF DURHAM.—I think it necessary for his *peace* and *dignity* that it should be immediately removed, and the wound healed—if Nature retards the laceration from skinning over, it must be cicatrized by Artifice.

Though I confess my inability to reconcile “the absolute prescience of the Deity, “and the moral liberty of men,” yet I will not accede to the position, that Atheism can be consonant with true Philosophy,—the human mind is too finite to grapple with an immeasurable idea—I hate the zealot for a dogma, but I fear God, as the author and protector of my existence.—The scientific may sometimes be sophists, but the wise are always sufficiently possessed of themselves to know they are men. If any professor of diabolism exists, who wishes to accelerate the oblivion of our moral duty, and deprive us of that grace of sentiment, which can only be attached to a confirmed dependence for our felicity on the behest of the Omnipotent Universal Spirit,

Spirit, I hope his powers of ideal propagation may be arrested for ever.

SECTION. V.

ORATORY.

IT has become with me a fixed opinion, that the people of this country, have not so formidable an enemy at present in existence, as what is usually termed a *professional Orator*!—Nine speeches out of ten that are delivered in the Senate, and our Courts of Judicature, are calculated to bewilder, and not inform the auditor—to cast an Egyptian mist over the broad and honest face of a fact.—This declaration may appear to many as harsh, inapplicable, and unjust; but I am convinced, that Knavery has not so potent an ally, to uphold his power, and qualify his atrocity. I am so far disgusted with similar efforts now, that whenever I hear

hear a long speech, I previously conclude, that the cause must be very bad, which requires an apology so elaborate, for its introduction or defence.—An *Orator*, whose powers of eloquence are brilliant and fruitful, who can combine images, and apply them adroitly ; runs irregularly over his subject, and beblimes its surface, like the Eel of science indulging its serpentine freaks on the pages of an academic theme !

To depict a MODERN ORATOR, is to give the lineaments of an intellectual monster, whom Nature, in a comprehensive sense, disowns ; and as monsters are denied the powers of generation, we never see the similitude of each other, produced by a collision or interchange of idea, though all are hideous, repulsive, and baneful.

How must the ingenuous mind grieve, to contemplate men with sublime endowments, that were assigned them to elevate their nature to the highest point of perishable

able excellence—so far depraved, so miserably resigned to Dishonor, as to think Truth should be secondary to Duplicity.—What advantage can their lewd Hope display, equivalent to the forfeiture of Integrity?

A senatorial Disputant should be considered as an illustration of the good sense and patriotism of the realm:—he should represent his constituents more in sentiment, than in a corporate point of view; and as upright intentions are best manifested in as few words as possible, he should disdain the puerile ambition of being verbose and circumlocutory; and only resort to his imagination for rhetoric figures, when it is expedient for the furtherance of some great end, to make an appeal to the understanding, through the influence of the passions;—but professional *oratory* is a lamentable effort of Ingenuity, as it tends principally to weaken our reliance for aid upon each other, and forms a part of the infernal

fernal triumph of artificial society, over the plain institutes of unerring Nature—but common Philosophy, which means well, is abashed by the audacity of Metaphysics, which means nothing, and men affect to be convinced, who are in doubt, and to be pleased, who are unhappy!—they are most energetic, when they are most in the wrong, and laugh, when the heart is touched by Dismay!—such sophistication is warranted by the prevailing subtleties of the hour, though it be clear to Observation, it is but the assumed warmth of an arrogant Polemick, not the generous ecstacy of pure joy!

If we are only gifted with intelligence to reconcile Deceit with Necessity, we use our agency merely to cut off the retreat of Reason, and give to Subterfuge that authority in the system, which should remain with Truth, who was originally empowered and deputed to withhold Bitterness from Retrospection.

Every

Every political orator, denounces and predicts who are imperfect prophets.—Men seldom argue from what they know, but from what they presume to know.—Expectation calls forth an *ignis fatuus*, or seductive light, which they eagerly pursue, till they are entrapped by Destruction—“false appearances of profit are the greatest enemies to true interest, future sorrows present themselves in the disguise of present pleasures, and short-sighted folly embraces the deceit *.”—Bigotry of opinion, is the first fruit of a sort of scrupulous pride, which sooner or later will consume the judgment, in proportion as the ideal *virus* is impelled to circulate by the multiplication of active errors.

Magnanimity of mind is best evinced by supporting and disseminating the axioms of truth most, when schismatic Villany has thrown his spells around, and made the ground perilous, on which Honor maintains a footing.

* Vide ELEMENTS of BEAUTY.

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The

The bright intellects of Mr. PITT and Mr. FOX cannot preserve them from being abused, if they exercise their ratiocination only to qualify a falsehood.

Every man should be detested for a bad quality, in despite of his eloquence or insinuation! Our antipathies cannot be removed, because the externals of a villain are as graceful as *Antinous*!—Poison, becomes not the less offensive and ruinous to my animal powers, because it was conveyed to my lips, in a vessel of *cornelian, onyx, jardon-nyx* or *jasp*!—

The community have an aptitude to make their admiration, too frequently, dependant on false principles, and violently applaud what is logically detrimental!—They prefer the glitter of the tinsel, to the sterling value of the rough bullion;—these subtle properties of thought, which should only be exercised for our preservation, are perverted to the establishment of mischief;

mischief; yet the improper blandishment and misuse of that subtlety is not apparently disgusting to the public mind!—We often appreciate most highly from habit, what Nature designed as a deformity in her multifarious scale—that pearl has been considered as invaluable, which the Creator ordered as an excrescence, issuing from the disease of the oyster!—

Most men seem more inclined to be conjecturally delighted than rationally pleased;—though the transports of the one are unsteady, because they are suspended by the imagination; and the felicities of the other are unchanging, because they have their origin from sober thought.

Philosophy tells us, that we should only gratify passion to enforce or substantiate some good; but, our legislative orators are generally employed in weaving gorgeous drapery, to make Evil so fine and self-recommended, that society may receive

the pestilent visitor, without the due examination of her proportions or her foulness!—the end of most legislative candidates is speculation, and they use oratory as the medium of the iniquity!—

SECTION VI.

THE LAW.

I HAVE been informed, that it was the intention of our great legal luminary, EARL MANSFIELD, when he retired from the seat of justice, to simplify our laws, and render them more familiar with our comprehension: but it is probable, that the imbecilities naturally attendant upon extreme old age, and a mind worn and blunted by honorable fatigue, may have incapacitated him from fulfilling a resolution so interesting to our peace and wishes.

Every

Every man knows that he is, but every man does not know why!—and as, in consequence, it becomes proper, to point out the limitations of duty to some, it is incumbent they should be pointed out to all:—as the Laws now remain, very few are acquainted with their extent, and as they are administered, by the understrapping and base members of the awful mystery; but few can receive that benefit, which it was originally intended should be conveyed universally.

As our opinions are infinite, and our knowledge of propriety restricted, I consider it as wholly impossible to frame statutes perfectly correspondent with the desires of all descriptions of men;—the utmost that human wisdom, acting with human goodness, can effect, is, to modify such legal obligations as shall operate to command a general benefit, and in their essence, comprehend the ability of the potent and the weak, to observe the letter and take

advantage of the spirit, when it is their desire either to be obedient or protected.—

Our jurisprudence is enveloped in a fog impenetrable to the eye of Reason—this is a grievance of frightful magnitude ;—our statutes are in many cases contradictory, and so numerous, that they cannot be contained in one hundred volumes folio. Then is it not highly injurious to the subject, that he has not the power of decyphering or knowing what is law and what is not ? A revision or interpolation of our governing rules is indispensably necessary ; it would do immortal honor to any, who influenced by a regard for unoffending ignorance, would fulfil this common desire.

Mr. JUSTICE ASHURST, in his late charge to the Grand Jury of Middlesex, has declared that in this country the law equally extends to the protection of the poor as well as the rich ; but this assertion, with all deference
to

to the worthy magistrate, is not literally true.—The most powerful men are generally the most prevailing.

* “Laws grind the poor, while rich men rule the law.”

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* But lest my arguments should be indecise, you shall have the opinion of a wiser man, “Let us expostulate with these learned sages, these priests of the sacred temple of justice; are we judges of our own property? by no means. You then, who are initiated into the mysteries of the blindfold goddess, inform me, whether I have a right to eat the bread I have earned by the hazard of my life, or the sweat of my brow? The grave Doctor answers me in the affirmative, the reverend Serjeant replies in the negative; the learned Barrister reasons upon one side and upon the other, and concludes *nothing*. What shall I do? an antagonist starts up and presses me hard. I enter the field, and retain these three persons to defend my cause; my cause, which two farmers from the plough could have decided in half an hour, takes the court twenty years. I am, however, at the end of my labor, and have in reward for all my vexation, a judgment in my favor. But hold—a sagacious commander in the adversary’s army has found out a flaw in the proceeding, my triumph is turned into mourning. I have used or in-

The scale of human turpitude, in the eye of heaven and men, is totally different; the springs of that tide of misery, which inundate our party-coloured life, are to him all known! to us they are not.

In my nature I am a greater advocate for equity, than I am for law; yet my necessities connected with my foreknowledge, will make me reject what in my principles I may think right, for that institute which Custom has hallowed, in opposition to the meek voice of Reason!—Many men lose a cause upon a point of law, who are perfectly right in point of equity; yet he who is discomfited according to law, may have

“stead of *and*, or some mistake, small in appearance, but
 “dreadful in its consequences, and have the whole of
 “my success quashed in a writ of error. I remove my
 “suit; I shift from court to court; I fly from Equity
 “to Law, and from Law to Equity; equal uncertainty
 “attends me every where; and a mistake in which I
 “had no share, decides at once upon my liberty and
 “property, sending me from the court to a prison, and
 “adjudging my family to beggary and famine.”

fraternal

fraternal sympathy, but he who is discomfited according to equity, will be left without any resource, but Desperation!—In the first misfortune, his habits may make him content; in the second, he can only resort to his ideas of rectitude, which are eternally changing:—every legal Mandator, should be a law expounder, not a law-maker, and the code should in itself be palpably comprehensible.—I will agree that a Judge may be a legislator as a Peer, but I will not admit him to be a legislator as an executive magistrate!—As a Member of Parliament he may create a law for our government, and as a Judge he may afterwards illuminate, and give that law force; but I will not consent, that he shall become a legislator on the Bench: if he is permitted to assume that character unquestioned, the liberties of this nation are gone for ever.—When such an innovation becomes prevalent, the subject will be aggrrieved and the professors bewildered in a more inextricable labyrinth of uncertainty!

I most

I most seriously hope, that the Judges will be singularly delicate and discriminating, when any cause is brought before them for discussion, involving a *libel*, as I apprehend, that any perversion of rectitude on this material point, would be attended eventually, with the most horrible consequences.—Men frequently do much because they dare, but seldom do it without punishment—the mind that nourishes malignity of sentiment, will always be harrowed by the dread of retribution.

If it should ever become a system with Statesmen to denominate every publication a *libel*, that is directed against presumed iniquity, the nation must soon fall, as the connection between the faith of the subject, and the pure administration of the statutes must be severed.—By the Constitution of England, the judicial power directed in its exercise by the whole Legislature, is supposed to reside in the supreme
Courts

Courts of Law ; but if, from the crooked policy of polluted times, the dignity of Truth should be superseded by the artifices and fraud of Power, and the subject be so far depressed, as to crouch invariably at the will of the Minister, then will the legal determination be questioned in every Briton's heart, for moral Ill will not be permitted to triumph long unarraigned, as the principles of *right* and *wrong* will be eternally immutable, in despite of the violences and prejudices of the higher or lower orders of men—though I never reflect on the mazes and gulphs so inseparably connected with this Gothic and inexplicable code—this abominable tissue of barbarism—these knotty remnants of the feudal system, on which our peace and our property are dependent, without some anguish ; yet my emotions become consolatory, when I recollect, that their malign attributes are occasionally meliorated and softened, by the interposition of those legal noblemen, who so ably and honorably preside in the *King's Bench* and *Common Pleas*.

SECTION VII.

REPUBLICANISM.

AMONG the important inroads of the day, I know of none in a political sense, that have been more diffusive in their effects, than a sudden partiality in the disaffected, for a Republican form of Government!— I know the tendencies of the human character so well, that I should not be amazed to hear that a majority of those people wished to return to a state of Nature, for even that absurdity has had its advocates!— When any momentous innovation has been attempted in a state, the usual apology for the endeavour to destroy an antient establishment, was, that it was done for the good of posterity; but in this case, I shall endeavour, by comparing what was, with what is, to convince the people that less perfection is to be found in a Republic, than
in

in a Monarchy, provided that Monarchy be regulated by Public Virtue.

MR. PAINE, in his indigested opinions, seems broadly to insinuate, if not insist, that if every nation were to become corresponding Republics, they might elude, by their confraternity, all the miseries of war: but in this position he is totally mistaken, or mischievously false to his own judgment.—We can only gather wisdom from consequences, and the consequences here militate against him.—When the Greek Republics elbowed each other, and lived in a state of proximity, it was not their being almost fraternally united by Nature as inhabiting one small portion of the globe!—nor was it their common adoption of the same governing principles, that could restrain them from indulging the keen appetite of national ambition and national revenge!—The Athenians and the Lacedæmonians wetted their natal glebe exultingly with the blood of each other!—They had
their

their Solon, and their Demosthenes, and their impassioned Gods, yet could neither Sage or Deity coerce their irregularities, or so far harmonize their propensities, as to make them imagine every climate was equally valuable, and every human being their brother :—their *ostracism* was productive of the most unlimited and unqualified sorrow—What Despot ever insulted human worthiness more, than this people, in their cruel conduct to *Themistocles*, *Miltiades*, *Anaxagoras*, *Aristides*, and even *Socrates* himself !

The *Republic* of *Rome*, had little else to recommend it but abrupt acts of greatness, too frequently accompanied with acts of savageness ?——if their virtues were bold, so were their vices—they began their dominion by rapine, and aggrandized it by an unbounded slaughter of the unoffending and the just ?—The *Sabines*, the *Æqui*, the *Samnites*, the *Volsci*, and the *Ætrurians* became the victims of their diabolic ambition :

bition :—should the sword of *Sylla*, crimsoned with the blood of half a million, be considered as a trophy of magnanimity ?—

The *Republic of Florence* was imitative of that of *Athens*, and equally insecure in prosperity and violent in danger !—*Venice* is governed by a most intolerable aristocracy !—*Poland* has been proverbially disastrous,—and no nation in Europe has been involved in more wars, and is now subject to heavier imposts, in consequence of those wars, than *Holland*—as for *Genoa*, *Geneva*, and such restricted communities, they are not sufficiently important for notice.

The *Republic of America* is flourishing and happy, and I hope that felicity may long continue, though it cannot be !—every political body, like the animal world, contains within itself, the seeds of its own destruction ; but that event will happen sooner or later, in proportion as its organization

zation is preserved by Temperance, or injured by Disease——*America*, when compared with the old Monarchies of the West, seems like a young, florid, Herculean adult, contrasted with infirm Epicureans ; but notwithstanding appearances, that hour will come, when she, like the rest, will be enfeebled by age, and have her decrepitude, her miseries, and her dissolution !

I would not have it understood by this statement, that I think any description of Monarchy, prevalent in Christendom, as perfect models of legislation, (perhaps, from the contradictory interests of society none can be perfect ;) I mean only to declare my conviction, that it tends more to universal good, to have one master than many, yet I would have the measures of that one most scrupulously investigated—government administered by the people, considered in a collective sense as Law-givers, has ever been ruinous, even to their own desires—a government administered by kings,
has

has in too many instances been widely ruinous also, yet in the latter instance, the Nation can cherish a well-founded hope that repeated remonstrances may remove the calamity, as the rays of complaint can be brought to a focus, and immediately directed to the origin of the evil; but in the former instance, that hope cannot be imbibed or cherished, as the cause of a nation's sorrow would be too diffusive and contradictory for the energies of reason to be applied to the judgment of the governing. Remonstrance would charge her artillery in vain, as three-fourths of the bullets would be wasted innoxious over the heads of the multitude, whose capacities would not be equal to the comprehension of either the letter or spirit of the expostulation !

“ For forms of government let fools contest.

“ Whate'er is best administered, is best.”

SECTION VIII.

IRELAND.

THE internal fermentation of IRELAND, demands the utmost vigilance and scrutiny upon the part of the *Minister*—the natives of that kingdom manifest a desire to take advantage of the general revolution, that seems to have happened more in the human mind, than in human states—long accustomed to be deceived, they now wish to destroy the powers of deception altogether, and by spirited, if not by turbulent efforts, to awe the legislature into obedience—

The constituent parts of any government cannot be all satisfactory to all minds, and even our leading prepossessions assume a different hue, for that measure which we think expedient at one æra we think inexpedient at another !—Of all kingdoms on earth, *Ireland* is the last where I should expect

pect to see general content, and the reason is obvious to those acquainted with her history; three-fourths of the landed property has been torn from the original possessor by aliens and invaders—the descendants of their princes and great men, still wander over the demesnes of their illustrious ancestors, with bodies weakened by misery, but with minds unsubdued by calamity—they look disaffectedly and with scorn at the present rulers of their hamlets, and think that what is, should not be.

In the administration of Ireland, there is infinite difficulty, in drawing the line of necessitous propriety between what the people require, and their leaders would enforce!—this unceasing exigence tends very much to harass their privy councils—I have observed, though perhaps imperfectly, that the effects of credulity are more instantaneous among the people of Ireland, than any other; and it is from this source that so many *Patriots* are hourly springing

up there, and hourly cut down in the full bloom of popularity, before the fruit of the plant can be ripened by maturity—political Novitiates rush into the chamber of the third estate, amplify the deformities of a grievance, which they afterwards support—tell a tale of a tub,—seduce the million,—are purchased by the Minister, and then take their seat on the treasury bench detested but content.

There was a period when the murmurs of *Ireland* were the murmurs of discreet resentment; when half the meretriciousness of Britain, was insolently pensioned upon her establishment—then she sighed with real grief, and the aspiration ascended to Heaven—at present, it would be well worthy of the consideration of the sensible and virtuous part of our sister kingdom, to investigate how far it would be their interest to become irascible for the acquisition of an inconsiderable privilege,—but in that class I do not mean to
 arrange

arrange the present desires of the *Roman Catholics*, a part of whom possessed of certain incomes, wish to be qualified and empowered to give their votes at elections for members of parliament.—I do not, in my humble ideas upon general rectitude, accede to the adoption of this measure, because it is so eloquently recommended by some popular demagogues in that kingdom, but from a well-founded conviction that the request is just.—

The Administration in Ireland have referred the remonstrating Catholics to the Administration of England, who, in their turn, recede from the investigation of the required privileges, by a declaration, signifying that it is not properly in their province, to determine on the expediency, or inexpediency of an alteration so material to the interests of a great portion of his majesty's subjects ;—It is an ill compliment to the fortitude of any member of a government, who wishes to elude the conse-

quences of discussion, by removing the responsibility, annexed to office, to a colleague or delegate, agitated with similar apprehensions!—

As the Kirk is permitted by government to be the predominant religion of Scotland, merely because the desires of the people are nearly unanimous in its favor, and as the executive offices, both in Church and State are filled with its professors, why not admit an equal liberty of sentiment and action to Ireland, and suffer her natives, who profess the papal doctrines, to be similarly indulged, having similar claims;—in both instances the prevalence of the persuasion would completely justify any relaxation from the reigning authority:—in my opinion, provincial resolutions, appertaining to religion, should be considered as inviolable—a rigorous demand, that every Priest must subscribe to the thirty-nine Articles of the Lutheran Creed, should not be extended beyond the limitations

tations of England and Wales—the times that required a due observation of this ordonnance are over, and we should now rely for mutual good will, upon the emotions of the heart, not the prejudices of the head.

A Ruler should never exhibit a feature of jealousy to the subject, unless he has some unequivocal reason to apprehend, that the indulgence of common desire, will be succeeded by an irreparable misfortune.—I think it would be an act of supreme wisdom, to admit those persons to participate in the legislature of their country, whose property is circulating in the state, and whose peace and pride are consequently involved in its preservation and its glory. depute a Viceroy to unloose their fetters, and Gratitude will make a residence in their hearts.

There is not a philosopher in Europe who does not smile at the absurd distinc-

tions still made between the *Protestant* and the *Catholic*.—As to the indispensable necessity of a national Church in any country, I have not yet made up my mind ; but the subject is too momentous to be treated cursorily—for my part I think a *Sectarist* may be as exemplary as the *Prebend* of a *Diocese*—the *Creator* never meant that our faith should be a consequence from temporal laws ; there are no contentions so puerile in the first instance, and so dreadful in the issue, as the polemic warfare of *Divines*—nor opiate, nor mandragora, nor amulet, can lull them into repose, when the flood-gates of their antipathies are thrown open, and they pour forth their invectives against each other with the bitterness of exceeding revenge.

I hope that time will soon arrive, when the vile subdivisions of Christianity shall be forgotten—when it shall be the labor of the *Priest* to instruct, and not hood-wink the million—when he shall imitate the
sublime

sublime origin of his peace, and be meek and benevolent—when a spirit of uncharitableness shall no longer be annexed to a circumscribed belief, and every man be *permitted* to seek his God, in the path most agreeable to his senses.

The recent conduct of LORD CHIEF BARON YELVERTON, on a motion made by Mr. SIMON BUTLER, was, I think, improper, if not censurable.—The President of every tribunal must be considered as officially immaculate, and under that awful supposition, his language and decree should be only obedient, to the spirit of the laws and the essence of the deposition; it was indiscreet, and even dangerous in any person thus circumstanced, to declare “it was probable, from the spirit of the times, he might never sit in that Court again, as a judicial Arbiter!” Every Magistrate, but more especially a Judge, must be presumed as unimpressed with any fear, but that of violating right.

How

How far *Ireland* will ever receive any gigantic benefit from any future refinement in her politics, (independent of this claim) I have as yet to discover—that they have some causes for complaint, I admit, and there ever will be complaining among them as an insular people, be their Government modelled as it may—designing men will always be found to foment discord, to correspond with their own designs; but should the existence of a diminutive evil tempt them to a general uproar?—the Irish are an high-spirited and generous nation, whom I honor, and I hope they will never be obliged to declare, in future, as a kingdom, synonymous to the tenor of the Grecian's epitaph, *I was well, would be better, and here I am.*

SECTION IX.

EQUALITY.

“ Proud Man ! drest in a little brief authority,
 Most ignorant of what he's most assured,
 (His glassy essence, like an angry ape,)
 Plays such fantastic tricks before high Heaven
 As make the Angels weep.”——

SHAKSPERE.

AS to the prevailing notion of *equality*, the more I reflect upon the proposed innovation, the more I am convinced, that its introduction in this country, could not be attended with any beneficial effect.—Let our Nobility become exemplary, promote the meritorious, and sustain virtue, and their Patrician dignity will remain unaffailed—as no man is naturally superior to another but by his excellence, they should incessantly toil to add excellence to their advantages of nativity.—These distinctions
 were

were at first universally honorable, but abuse has rendered them too frequently ludicrous.—Man, considered merely as an *animal*, wants that unerring guide called instinct, which serves as an infallible director through every period of a brute's existence, consequently he should be governed by those who have acquired wisdom, and possess connate stimulatives to perform such things as may alleviate or remove the sufferings of their fellow-creatures—It is certain, that the many should be governed by the few, yet those few should always be removeable at the will of the many !

If local rank and natal advantages were to give way to the irrational prejudice now so industriously circulated, it is wholly impossible to make all descriptions of men commix happily with each other—the enlightened and the unenlightened—the liberal and the illiberal, would be in a continual state of mutual annoyance—The Poles do
not

not differ more in their inherent qualities than the various orders of men ; and if felicity cannot be produced by a particular measure, its adoption is inconvenient and unwise : the pursuits of a gentleman adorn humanity—the pursuits of the vulgar debase it—no force of patriotism can make such equality either palatable or agreeable : —a gentleman is a refined being, whose movements are regulated by Science, and he cannot assimilate with any but a gentleman ; yet it is unimportant if one drew his first breath in the Hebrides, and the other in Illyria—though the coarse part of society is the greater, and both are admitted to be kneaded and irradiated by the same elements ; yet will the elegant and the philosophic, glide along unmixing with intrusive impurities, like the smooth stream of Arethusa, through the muddy burthen of Geneva's Lake ;—be the tempests of Life, as outrageous as they may, there will be ever two orders floating upon the surface—the *protector* and the *protected*.

It

It is manifest that there exists a *levelling principle* in all the subordinate stages of society, from the Peer of the realm, to the humbler Yeomanry, notwithstanding the workings of Hypocrisy may have disguised their leading wishes—we need but look to the fortunate or the meritorious, to prove the justness of this degrading idea—all who are not so potent as a King, or so gifted as a Sage, are incessantly labouring to reduce the worth of their superiors, by ascribing to them some unworthy motives, to which their minds were ever foreign—this unmerited persecution appears as a debt of reciprocity, which the great and the wise must pay to the mean and the unhappy—Those whom they cannot overtake, they abuse, though their vehemence is only significant of their deprivation of manly dignity!—*Galileo* had his troubles, and *Trajan* his foes, equally with *Caracalla*.—

If I were asked, if a man possessing the
title

title and appendages of Duke, Earl, Viscount, Baron, or Right Honorable, gave him more real dignity than another, who was not in possession of such symbols of Vanity, I should unhesitating answer, No,—yet as I consider such gewgaws and mummery as operative of indirect advantages to society, I have no desire that the puissant Daw may suffer depuration—if they are licentious, mean, unjust, or unworthy; they may ostentatiously value themselves, but will not be valued by others.—

That there has been a violent twist in human affairs, relative to precedence, which was not originally intended, there can be no doubt;—were *Confucius*, *Plato*, or the *Stagyrite* to enter a saloon now, with all their greatness in full blossom, it is probable, that some *titled Marmoset*, would scowl at the sublime men, as not being, in his opinion, inclusive as *fine gentlemen* !!!—Many claim this visionary supereminence
only

only to cover their pusillanimity, and sculk behind their ideal privileges, when their fears prevent them from behaving like men ! —yet though it is thus, it is not thus in vain ; the very absurdities of such fashionable *insects*, give bread to the manufacturer, and energy to the loom.

Noble prejudices render us more estimable, but vulgar prejudices operate upon the understanding, as Chinese shoes upon the feet, they narrow the conception, without destroying its agency !—In every polished dominion, there are two distinct classes, though both are engendered by the same parent : as *Lucian* describes the young offspring of a female Centaur, some drawing nutriment from the human bosom, and others from the bestial nipple !

Yet what are the triumphs annexed to this painful disposition of the mind ? We seek for no name, with transport, among the archives of antiquity, but those who have been dear to Virtue:—we pass by
Clodius,

Clodius, *Crassus*, and *Cataline*, with a smothered scorn, to ponder with fondness over *Scipio*, *Cato*, and *Fabricius*; the first of whom was continent, the second pure, and the third modest!—the vicious flatter but for a day, and then they sink to Infamy.

The pompous legends of Heraldry, are but as so many talismans for children,—the emblazoned shield, explanatory of what blood has been in the race, will not be effectual, unless the knight himself is just, temperate, and heroic.—Every man's action will bear its own testimonial, and to make our achievements dependent on this principle, is an ambition which the Gods approve.

It is merit only can ensure respect beyond the grave—When the EARL of HERTFORD made DAVID HUME his Secretary, he gained immortality by the appointment; as Futurity, when contemplating the luminousness of the Historian, in the third Heaven of Science, will behold the *dignified wren* mounted on the back of the *philosophic eagle*!

SECTION VI.

PATRONAGE.

OF all the words in our language we have none so inclusively detrimental or inauspicious to human prosperity as that of *Patronage*—like a deep river whose streams are arrested, by its banks being torn down, to overflow the fertile mead of Plenty, it becomes by perversion a general evil, that was meant as a general blessing!—Vice, Folly, and Obsequiousness have seized every avenue leading to Protection, while Merit, Honor, and Integrity are denied the privilege of retreating for shelter, beneath her ample and well-feathered wing!—why should every benefit be showered upon the egregious, and the amiable be neglected if not, despised?—Has the sphere of rectitude been demi-turned, and what was yesterday uprightness, now antipodic? Are our Satyrists

tyriffs dead, or are the offending callous to Reprehension?—*Erasmus* and *Rabelais* reformed more by ridicule, than *Luther* and *Calvin* by serious exhortation!—through the baneful introductory of *Patronage*, we have Profligacy in the Pulpit! Ignorance in the seat of Magistracy! and sometimes, Cowardice in our fleets and armies!

The immense revenues that are annually drawn from the *vitals* of the people, by the Right Hon. GEORGE ****, the Right Hon. THOMAS *****, E. N*****, Mr. S****, the *****, and even the LORD ***** himself, *cum multis aliis*, awaken in my recollection an antient fable: “Jove being offended with the insolence of wealthy mortals, convened the gods to shew them how readily he could make men of importance from the very dregs of humanity; and in consequence issued his behest, when a crowd of *base* beings were placed in the path leading to the Temple of Fortune, but so great was their ignorance that they could

not take advantage of their situation, till the Thunderer sent Eolus to blow them by force within the portals of the inconstant Goddesses ;" but the same gust which blew the Dolts to independence, made the naked Virtues shiver !

I have observed with much concern, and I hope the Sovereign views it in the same light, as I am well assured it deserves his most serious attention, that whenever a question is brought forward to limit the number of placemen and pensioners, and lighten the pressure and burthens of the people, these innumerable locusts of the land, who have been principally extracted from the low marshes of Nature, like mushrooms in the dark ; all rush forward with a piteous outcry, and bellow at the corner of every avenue in the metropolis and in every county in the island, that there is a latent attempt to insult his Majesty, diminish his splendor, and undermine his throne ; thus artfully and wickedly
do

do these peculating Vipers, interweave their own individual interests with the honor of their master, and evidently are inclined to hazard the demolition of the system altogether, rather than forego undue advantages, which they have acquired without merit, and retain without trouble !

“ Mourn all ye Muses,”

For this is an age unfavorable to your divine influence !—your smiles have no longer their accustomed fascination ! the brief of your sorrows lies unexplored, and the tribunals of justice are shut against your friends !—the higher Sciences are impoverished by calculating Artifice !—Philosophy is superseded by Dulness !—it is the *Jubilee of Blockheads*.

From such misuse of authority—from such contempt of greatness—from such an heteroclitical suspension of the privileges of Genius, Heaven deliver us.

SECTION X.

FINAL IDEAS.

THOSE who fear the overthrow of Monarchies in Europe, should date their apprehensions from that period, when a knowledge of their atrocities, made them tremble for all regal establishments—the extinction of such power can only be a consequence emerging from its misapplication. What is truly great must be respected, but what is only speciously so, may be overthrown—To enter the gorgeous palace of a King with elasticity of morals, is to carry with you a recommendation superior in its efficacy, to an eulogy from the Holy Fathers, or the benediction of the Apostles—whoever enters there must be supposed vulnerable in his probity, or peculiarly improvident and daring, in associating
with

with minions, confessedly the slaves of Interest or Ambition.

Though I consider it to be a sort of diminutive crime, to speak contemptuous of an admitted authority, I do not look upon a Sovereign with that stupifying and intoxicating awe, with which the Tartars regard their *Jos*—If they protect the immunities of the People, and act consistent with the ordinances of Mercy, I respect them, I reverence them, as great instruments, necessary for our combined felicities.—When Kings pass the bourn of mortality, they, in common with us all, are but as the departed seasons, and can only be remembered and arranged by Chronology, for the good or ill they have introduced among us.—Considering the slender and brittle tie, by which we retain all our *temporal littlenesses*, I am frequently astonished at those unprofitable sollicitudes which we manifest for the preservation of the vanities of an hour!

For

For within the hollow crown,
 That rounds the mortal temples of a King,
 Keeps Death his court : and there the antick fits
 Scoffing his state, and grinning at his pomp :
 Allowing him a breath, a little scene
 To monarchise, be fear'd, and kill with looks :
 Infusing him with self and vain conceit,
 As if this flesh, which walls about our life,
 Were brass impregnable : and, humour'd thus,
 Comes at the last, and with a little pin
 Bores through his castle-walls, and farewell King !

SHAKESPEARE.

Though our ethical good will always be doubted, while Pride has the ability to argue, I have no idea of obedience that can be construed as irreconcilable to my love of Virtue—that being must be good in principle who can receive my veneration ; for though every hour I consume in my mortal journey, convinces me of my own weakness and fallibility, I cannot consent that Impropropriety should have a local establishment.—In some instances, even Loyalty becomes Depravity—every man should have a proper regard for the interests of Subordination,

Subordination, as without it we certainly could not exist with that degree of relative comfort, which is the happy issue, when the *Monarch* and the *Man* regard each other as felicitous instruments co-operating for the maintenance of the general good.

MR. BURKE (with his usual impetuosity and imprudence) declared in the House of Commons, that the murder of the *King of France*, would be followed by the murder of the *King of England*—What a horrible—what a mad suggestion!—One would think that this man, under the semblance of lunatic virtue, only lived to give the watch-word to the damnable!—Nor man, nor woman, nor the youth of either sex, in the three kingdoms, could have imagined any thing relative to the murder of their Sovereign, but himself!—Poor distracted gentleman—he is always floundering, and always in the wrong!—Always angry, but never revenged!—The most furious Republican in the empire, possessing

possessing the health of his mind, would not—could not, have the audacious temerity, even to offer a personal insult to the KING or QUEEN, for this simple, though gigantic reason—they are the best and most exemplary persons in the nation !

Notwithstanding my disapprobation of a majority of the men and measures, which compose and have characterized the present Administration, I do not wish to see them supplanted by Mr. Fox and his motley legion, because I think the constituted authorities should remain inviolate and unquestioned, until the public mind recovers its serenity !—I know the people to be aggrieved, yet I am convinced, that in the present internal convulsion, their duty and their interest should incline them to be scrupulously obedient to the operating laws.—Firmness is more effectual when allied to Moderation than Fury—in this momentous conflict between *Knavery* and *Sedition*, a true friend to his KING and COUNTRY,

COUNTRY, finds it difficult to ascertain the path of Rectitude!

My mind creates an amiable image, which I fear will never have an animated existence:—it is a MINISTER, who would honorably and honestly come forward to the people, and foregoing the vile subtleties of office, plainly inform them of the actual state of Government—describe its exigencies and its errors—tell them he is conscious there are grievances which should be corrected—and that when the time shall warrant that amendment, it shall unequivocally be effected—If he religiously kept his word, how would the public confidence be amplified!—What undescrivable joys would lighten his own heart?—What added dignity would be given to his King?—What prosperity to his Country?—But that the latent and circumvolving designs of any Minister should invariably accompany the motions of political goodness, is as little to be expected

pected as the due formation of the *Metonic Cycle*!—Their virtues I fear will be eternally problematical.

It is a trite declaration, that Corruption is necessary for the maintenance of Government!—But I will deny the original necessity, for the practice of any such unworthy means.—It was the fallacy and wickedness of preceding Ministers that introduced this abominable system of debauchery, which has been so carefully ripened in succeeding times—they assailed and bribed the community, as the sensual do a believing virgin—and when they had artificially called forth an irregular appetite, left them in the indulgence of what became ultimately a disease!—We should abhor the seducer, who ungraciously called the seduced a prostitute, and by a parity of reasoning, should that legislator be despised, who would turn upon the people whom he had taken every indirect method to bribe, and exclaim, Why do ye implore

me for redress?—Ye consented to be *thought*, and ye must not be surprized that ye are *sold*;—ye participate by your own meannesses, the ascribed impurities of the Legislature, by receiving a compensation for that suffrage, which it would have been noble to have bestowed without any.

There is an unruliness; an unsteadiness in the spirit which actuates human nature, to the regulation of which no precept or example is entirely competent!—Inquietudes arising from physical causes, not unfrequently distort our morality, and have an influence in our resolutions, not dissimilar to the jaundice on the visual ray, by giving a false tint to circumstances that are in themselves amiable and beneficial:—we condemn without evidence, and appreciate without reflection—we become miserable from the licentiousness of thought, and precipitately give birth to a determination, from which we afterwards recede with shame!—I apprehend that the French possess

possess not the stability of character necessary for the completion of great designs ; —the *Regicide Mountain* in their Convention, is not similar to the *populum regem*, so sweetly depicted by *Virgil*.

Though Utopian reformations will never accord with our ideas of civilized life, a moderate reform must take place—the strong limb of power must not be exerted wantonly—Majorities have lost their triumph, and minorities their dejection—something is generally expected, and something must be accomplished !—The life and liberty of a Briton should be co-eternal !

It has not been unusual lately, for some of our legislative Goliaths, to declare for a measure one month, and against it the next ; or at least to exhibit a desire to do away the tenor of an original sentiment—this glaring dubiety, frequently confounds the people, in forming a proper estimate of the leading prejudices of great men ; but on such occasions, I consider the first assertion

as the declaration of *principle*, and the second as the emanation of *cunning*!

I commiserate the feelings of his Majesty, when he reflects on the faithlessness and inconstancy of his servants—as the good of his subjects I believe to be his ultimate aim ; how supremely must he despise those, who, when in the habits of confidence with him, will create and give energy to an institute that they afterwards systematically oppose, when their duplicity ceases to be less convenient than apostacy. —Kings, in common with all patrons, should be doubly guarded against the servile and the flattering, as whoever is *mean* in the first instance, will prove a *villain* in the issue !——

Much serious inconvenience has arisen, and ever will accrue to the subject, while our statutes, relative to the *imprisonment for Debt*, remain as they are.—The rigour with which we pursue *insolvent Debtors*, is
a disgrace

a disgrace to the tendencies of our Jurisprudence.—The real and personal property of a Debtor, whether acquired anterior or posterior to his insolvency, should be always at the will of the Creditor, until the obligation was liquidated, but no citizen should have it in his power to imprison another, in cases not felonious or criminal.—The scale of mortal justice should be presumed to have a semblance to the rules of Divine justice!—and the first and most prominent attribute of the Deity is *Mercy*, which we admire, but do not imitate!—the Almighty has said, “Vengeance is my own,” with more emphasis than the EX-CHANCELLOR, yet he gives us plenteousness, and withholds the rod, though we deserve neither from his administration.—Perhaps the slumbers of LORD THURLOW are never broken by the rude and violent interposition of thought; if they are not, the man is extra or sub-human.

It is objected against Mr. PITT, that he
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is not a good war minister ; if his opponents mean by that intended obloquy, to signify that he is not fond of war, I shall consider it as an high compliment to his nature and propensities.—War is the best engine for corruption that a wicked minister can have, as it enables him to consolidate the wages of Infamy, with the open demands of the state.—If we look into the terrifying catalogue of those wars, which have shaken human quiet, from the first recorded contests in the Mythic Theology of the antient Heathens, to the demolition of Byzantine greatness by the ferocious Rus ; how few instances will be presented to our vision, when the love of Virtue urged the Legions to destruction.—Most national antipathies have been the result of an irregular ambition in the bosom of governing individuals, and if any thus constituted are not equally clement as powerful, the completion of their desires, forms one of the most horrid features in the big round of mortal calamity !—What being, who is not fitted to participate the ravages of a

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Banditti,

Banditti, would wish to behold the vision of Zechariah realized, and the *Shepherd smitten*, and the *Sheep scattered*?—my restricted knowledge impels me to believe that a war with FRANCE now, would endanger the very existence of the Empire.

Mr. PITT certainly has not that promptitude and majesty of character, which so elevated and sustained his regretted Sire:—he is neither so decided or obeyed!—he seems lamentably inclined to associate with and protect drivellers, and is, I fear, actuated by the contracted desire of being always the *Cato* of his social circles!—he relies too much on the public supposition that he is incorruptible, in a situation, from which Purity has long since flown!—I like not the man who affects more probity than is attainable, yet practises less than is necessary!—I mean not to insult Mr. PITT with this remark, but to apply it generally, for with all his ascribed imperfections, I know not where to find a better man, and it should be confessed, that it is more difficult

ficult to guide the state vessel now than when his Father flourished ; the tide of Monarchy runs somewhat lower, and many breakers appear to trouble the waters, which it was then imagined had no existence in nature.

He has been reviled by that Phalanx, who are invariable in their censure towards him, as Minister, for summoning the Parliament and embodying the Militia, two measures which I conceive as expedient and irrefragable ; but as a late Nobleman, who fought under the same standard, declared a few days previous to his dissolution, that he seldom had delivered his real opinion in Parliament, it is admissible to suppose, that the gentlemen alluded to, may be equally insincere !—

I hope Mr. PITT may yet imitate *Menenius Agrippa*, and allure both Patrician and Plebeian to willing obedience, by those calm remonstrances, which can only be delivered with persuasive fervour by an up-

right man, and which can only have the desired effect, when the auditor is convinced, that the Speaker involves in his declamation, an invincible regard for their preservation and his own dignity—Thus must he act, if he wishes his memory to be quoted with unfading estimation ; as it is not the lamentable eccentricities of Mr. BURKE * ; the pitiable exclamations of Mr. DRAKE ; the qualified apologies of LORD SHEFFIELD ; the preconceived harangues of Mr. JENKINSON ; the *attic effusions* of LORD BELGRAVE, or the evasive replication of Mr. DUNDAS, can shield the Minister from woe, if his audaciousness should be inadequate to the prescribed limits of his duty.

I consider the occasional violences of Mr. Fox, as essentially necessary to the well-

* I intend, when the limitation of copy right to authors has expired, to illustrate the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, with the beautiful passages (as some call them) of Mr. BURKE's *Reflections on the French Revolution*, as I am sure no Arab's Entertainments could be more romantically entertaining.

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being of the State—they operate, like potent draughts, received into the constitution, to propel the circulation to those parts, which had been partially benumbed by the atmospherical density of a chilling government ! his Atlantean properties fit him to rush into the gap of danger, and regulate a convulsed world !—he has been deserted by many members of his bold battalion during the present alarm, some of whom, I believe to have acted from principles of patriotism ; to the majority of his recreant soldiers he may bid adieu without a sigh ; but when such men as LORD RAWDON recede from his colours, he should hide his head from that Sun, who witnessed the secession !—this nobleman is the prototype of social honor !—he is the *Bayard* of our nation.

The defection of LORD LOUGHBOROUGH, should not be regretted as equally calamitous ; his head is too perfect, and his heart is too gentle, not to make him irksome to himself, whenever he recollects his official
 phillippic

phillippic against the venerable FRANKLIN.
—I revere him as a Judge, but as a Politician I cannot.

The uniform friendship which the HEIR APPARENT, has manifested for Mr. Fox, since he burst from the recesses of the Royal Nursery, reflects no inconsiderable lustre upon his name, and involves an high compliment to his principles !—though all the movements of the PRINCE of WALES, do not run parallel with my received notions of what is august ; yet I never brood over his character in the aggregate, but I am delighted with his bland manners, and unequivocal goodness :—but the time has now arrived, when an apology for his irregularities, could not be offered with becoming grace or confidence—he is reflecting at the *rubicon* of Manhood, and all his Passions should be questioned by his Understanding, before they are permitted to act—he has navigated the Archipelago of Youth, and touched upon every pleasurable island—his attachment to Mr. SHERIDAN does him honor,

honor, as he is unquestionably a superior being: and, notwithstanding the tide of Calumny has run against him, appears to me as the only leading man in the political Hemisphere, who has *never* swerved from the original declaration of his tenet!—But as the shadow is frequently disproportioned to the object, so is the common prejudice issuing from the weakneſſes of men!—I have as yet to learn, that the PRINCE was ever debased by his precept or his example.

On a comprehensive view of the character of the Minister and the Ex-Minister, my partialities are in favor of Mr. Fox, but not from any belief that he is more incorruptible than his great rival; but knowing him to be more candid, he is assuredly less mischievous—Mr. PITT cautiously covers the snake with flowers—Mr. Fox equally cherishes the serpent, but is totally regardless as to herbage for its accommodation.

Oh! Liberty, genial Liberty, the clue
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of affection between thee and me, is attached to the primary chord of my heart : —thou art my solace in meditation and the goddess of my idolatry—The *Asiatic, Babylonian, Median, Assyrian, Ottoman, Persian, Pagan, or Christian* hosts embattled, have not been equal to your extinction from the universe !—Like the Sun, you gladden where you administer, and irradiate where you journey !—May those devoted to the celebration and defence of your virtues, be firm, but not sanguinary ; and jocund, but not licentious—Seas of ink have been exhausted for thy misrepresentation, but thy good name will remain unsullied to the death of Time.—The plain argument from thy hallowed lip shall ever circumvent the sophistry of Falshood—Like the circuitous Breeze, may your influence be every where, and every where received as a blessing—may you never want an **ERSKINE** in our Courts of Law—a **CAMDEN** in the Seat of Justice—or a **GREY** in the Senate !—When the hurricanes of Pollution roar about your majestic head,
and

and hot-blooded Persecution, becomes legally methodical for your destruction, seek a refuge in the bosoms of twelve *unadulterated* men, denominated a COMMON JURY: but one point farther than this, your expectation may not extend the climax of hope—Corruption! Corruption! Corruption!—

It is an effort of much difficulty, in national embarrassments like the present, to separate what we desire from what we dread, and it is from a conviction that good men are influenced by this dread, which emboldens the unjust to continue their malefactions!—Before we become exemplars of disobedience, we should measure in the understanding, how far such a defection from immemorial usages, may make the Community forget themselves—and those who are acquainted with the geography of the human mind, know, that it is a shorter stage from Error to Atrocity, than is commonly imagined!

The junction of regal, aristocratic, and
 G popular

popular power, if well arranged, makes a governing engine capable of answering the best purposes, but it is so complex and delicate, that, like a high-wrought and valuable watch, it should be frequently examined and tried, lest some mal-treatment or defilement should have impeded the expected progress of the different orders of wheels!—the *phenomena* arising from physical causes, in some sort, resemble the defects in our political system; on the body of our constitution, as on the disk of the sun, many dark spots may be seen by the microscopic eye of Fear, which partially obscure its splendor—It is the duty of our Legislators to wipe from off the surface such darkening impurities, that our admirable machine may revolve more freely—be more luminous—and more generally adored.

The present epoch is critical and fraught with danger:—it is now incumbent on every good Citizen to be firm and circumspect—to mingle the love of his *King* with the

the love of his Country; and on every occasion, to invigorate the arm of Government, when his Reason can offer an excuse for their measures—On an emergency like this, I will suffer the Minister to produce an *end* that might justify a *cause*—"It is not so proper to say, that Virtue leads to Happiness, as to affirm that whatever leads to real happiness is Virtue. There is no certain way to judge of actions, but by the good or evil that naturally attends them."

Was there a political penitentiary in due force, I believe the heart of a listener must be ossified, that did not tremble at the confessions of many both in and out of power!—Such, by their malversation, have drawn almost every health-giving principle from the retort of national œconomy, and left little but the *dāmnata terra*, for their King or the Community!—But it must never be forgot, that the *Majesty of the People*, is the most tremendous feature in all human establishments, and it surely cannot be expedient to goad them until they become didactic

didactic like Saint Paul, and reason upon Righteousness, Temperance, and Judgment to come—the blood of the first victim that suffers in a just cause, may, like the teeth of *Cadmus's* Dragon, engender armed men! Let them ponder and beware, for Britons will admit of no *Exodiatry*, like the Romans, to divert them with inappropriate merriment, when the business of the Tragedy has ceased.

I have no doubt, that amidst this din of tumult, a co-operating love between the *head* and the *body* will preserve every thing that is beautiful in our State from desolation—The PEOPLE may hope for every benefit from the *patriotism* of their KING, and the KING will receive every benefit from the *loyalty* of his PEOPLE; but I believe, from the most mature observation, that the advantages of either SOVEREIGN or SUBJECT, will not always be upheld by the intermediate Agents of Legislation, whether they emerge from *Walmer's Castle*, *Bow-wood*, or *Saint Anne's Hill*. 6 MA 50

F I N I S.

